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AUS DER DEUTSCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

herausgegeben von **Alois Brandl, Gustav Roethe** und **Erich Schmidt.**

Antonio de Guevara

GUEVARA IN ENGLAND

NEBST NEUDRUCK VON LORD BERNERS'

"GOLDEN BOKE OF MARCUS AURELIUS"
(1535).

VON

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Vorwort.

Dieser Band enthält den schon als Berliner Dissertation erschienenen Teil meiner Arbeit über Guevara in England nebst dem Textabdruck von Lord Berners' „Golden Boke“ v. J. 1535, der ältesten mir bekannten englischen Ausgabe von Guevaras Erstlingswerk.

Da ich jetzt in Santiago de Chile den Lehrstuhl für englische Philologie übernehme, so hoffe ich baldigst den Rest der Arbeit mit dem Texte von Sir Francis Bryans „Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier“ v. J. 1548 als Band CX der Palaestra veröffentlichen zu können.

Die Korrektur des hiermit herausgegebenen ersten Textes hat für mich Herr Dr. phil. Richard Röhmer in liebenswürdiger Weise übernommen. Ich bin ihm dafür zu großem Dank verpflichtet.

Liverpool, im Mai 1911.

J. M. Gálvez.

Die Herausgabe des vorliegenden Textes ist auf manche unerwartete Schwierigkeit gestoßen. Anfangs ließ die Vorbereitung auf den Beruf, später die Arbeit in diesem selbst nur wenig Muße für die Drucklegung. Dazu kam, daß die in Oxford hergestellte Abschrift des dortigen Exemplars als druckreif bezeichnet worden war, sich aber bei näherer Prüfung als recht wenig zuverlässig erwies. So mußte ich an Ort und Stelle nochmals eine genaue Nachprüfung der Abschrift vornehmen, und dazu waren die Sommerferien

zweier Jahre erforderlich. Zum Glück schloß Mars die Pforten der Bodleiana erst, nachdem gerade die letzte Zeile verglichen worden war. Zum Schluß nahm der Dienst mit der Waffe zur Verteidigung der Heimat Zeit und Kräfte vollauf in Anspruch.

Die krause Schreibung und Zeichensetzung der ältesten bekannten Textgestalt ist möglichst getreu wiedergegeben; nur wo augenscheinlich ein den Sinn entstellender Druckfehler vorliegt, erschien ein Hinweis darauf durch eine eckige Klammer am Platze.

Charlottenburg, Neujahr 1916.

R. Röhmer.

Einleitung.

Diese Untersuchung will folgende Fragen lösen:

1. Welches sind die wesentlichen Gedanken und welches die wesentlichen formalen Elemente, die durch Guevaras Werke nach England kamen?
2. Wie wurden alle diese Faktoren dort aufgenommen?

Trotz des Titels dieser Arbeit habe ich es mir nicht nehmen lassen, sie mit einer ausführlicheren Darstellung von Guevaras Leben zu beginnen. Dies schien mir unbedingt nötig, um zu einer richtigen Würdigung der Bedeutung und der Wirkung von G.s Wirken anzuleiten. Aus demselben Grunde habe ich bei der Behandlung der Werke G.s das Wesentlichste dargeboten, was ich über die Überlieferung und Entstehungsgeschichte der span. Originale und der frz. Übersetzungen fand, und was ich in gedanklicher und stilistischer Hinsicht für typisch hielt.

Da seit Anfang des 17. Jhdts. kein Werk G.s, mit Ausnahme der „Misterios del Monte Calvario“, in englischer Sprache neuerschienen ist, so ist es ferner der Lösung obiger Fragen dienlich, ausführlich den Inhalt aller englischen Übersetzungen der Werke G.s anzugeben. Damit wird eine genauere Kenntnis dieser Werke vermittelt, die meines Wissens nur in wenigen Bibliotheken vertreten sind.

Das Schwergewicht der Arbeit liegt in der Behandlung von G.s Erstlingswerk, dem „Libro Aureo“, weil es sowohl inhaltlich wie formal alle für die späteren Werke wichtigen literarischen Momente enthält.

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¹⁾ Für Mitteilungen über dieses Buch bin ich dem Bibliothekar der John Rylands Library Herrn H. Guppy und ganz besonders dem Herrn G. Vine aus Manchester zu Dank verpflichtet.

²⁾ Für Mitteilungen über dieses Exemplar bin ich Herrn Prof. A. Feuillerat der Universität Rennes zu Dank verpflichtet.

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I. Guevaras Leben.¹⁾

Asturien ist das Stammland des uralten Geschlechts der Guevara, dessen Sproß Antonio de Guevara, der Chronist Karls V., war. Er wurde zu Treceño, einem kleinen Orte in den Bergen von Santander um 1480 geboren. Sein Vater Beltran verwaltete die Güter seines älteren Bruders Ladron, eines mit Ferdinand von Aragonien verschwägerten Mannes. Seine Mutter Elvira de Noroña y Calderon war Hofdame der Isabella von Kastilien gewesen. Beltran und Elvira hatten sieben Kinder: Antonio war der zweite der drei Söhne, die unter der Strenge des Vaters und der Frömmigkeit der Mutter ihre früheste Jugend verlebten. Mit zwölf Jahren kam Antonio auf Wunsch des Vaters an den Hof Ferdinands und Isabellas. Der plötzliche Wechsel ging nicht spurlos an dem empfänglichen Knaben vorüber: er macht uns seine ständige Sehnsucht nach der Natur, vor allem nach den Bergen begreiflich. Als Granada fiel und als Amerika entdeckt wurde, wird G. am Hofe gewesen sein. Sicher aber war er am Hofe, als die humanistische Bildung dort festen Fuß gefaßt hatte. — Isabella selbst wurde von Antonius Nebrisensis unterrichtet, und der italienische Humanist Petrus Martyr Anglerius war Lehrer ihres Sohnes.

Die Anfänge von G.s humanistischer Erziehung gehören höchst wahrscheinlich dieser Zeit an. Zugleich offenbarte er in wüstem sinnlichen Treiben die Zügellosigkeit seines Temperaments. Dies muß den jungen Mann zur Über-

¹⁾ Für diesen Abschnitt ist häufig benutzt San Pelayo: s. Bibliographie.

sättigung geführt haben, die ihn in der Stimmung der Reue nach dem Tode des Prinzen Johann (1497) und dem Isabellas (1504) zum Eintritt in den Franziskanerorden veranlaßte. Vor der Gewalt der Sinnlichkeit suchte er auf einmal bei der Askese Zuflucht. Er wurde ein fleißiger Mönch, der viele Jahre in der Stille des Klosters oder auf dem Lande bettelnd verbrachte. Eine Zeit der Receptivität und der Reflexion bricht für G. an. Durch die Bettelwanderungen wird seine Beobachtungsgabe entwickelt, und in der Ruhe des Klosterlebens wird er zu einem eifrigen Leser heiliger und profaner Bücher.

Auf einmal finden wir G. als Verwalter (*guardian*) der Klöster seines Ordens in Arevalo¹⁾ und Avila²⁾, und während des Jahres 1518 in Soria³⁾. Auch wurde G. meiner Ansicht nach im Jahre 1518 Hofprediger. Er sagt, daß, als er nicht mehr zur Welt zurückzukehren gedachte, Karl I. (V.) ihn aus dem Kloster als Prediger und Chronisten geholt habe.⁴⁾ Bei San Pelayo⁵⁾ heißt es zwar, G. sei 1520 Hofprediger geworden, weil G. an derselben Stelle des „Menosprecio“ sagt, daß er am Hofe Karls 18 Jahre lang gewesen sei. Die zwischen 1518 und 1538 fehlenden zwei Jahre kann er aber fern vom Hofe auf Reisen oder sonstwie verbracht haben. Es wäre auch denkbar, daß der Prolog des „Menosprecio“ 1536 geschrieben worden sei. Auf jeden Fall scheint mir dies nicht so sicher, als wenn G. im Prolog des Relox (Fol. XI) mitteilt, er habe sich mit jenem Werke erst im Jahre 1518 beschäftigt. Dies bezieht sich aber auf den L. A., welchen G. im Jahre 1529 mit dem Relox identifiziert. Im Prolog zum L. A. teilt ferner

¹⁾ *Miento si no me acontecio en Arevalo siendo yo guardian, con un juez nuevo y inexperto* (Epist. Fam. 1575, Fol. 130. An den Conde de Buendia).

²⁾ Vgl. Rhuas Epistel an G., nach San Pelayo S. LXXI.

³⁾ Vgl. Epist. Fam., ed. 1575, Fol. 326. (An den Admiral Fadrique Enriquez).

⁴⁾ Menosprecio, Prolog.

⁵⁾ S. LXXIII, Anm.

G. mit, er habe erst bei seiner Ankunft am Hofe etwas von der Geschichte des M. A. gefunden, was ihn so mächtig angezogen habe, daß er fortan auf diesem Gebiete mit allen Kräften weiter geforscht habe. — G.s Ankunft am Hofe muß also in das Jahr 1518 gesetzt werden und in engen Zusammenhang damit der Beginn seiner literarischen Tätigkeit.

Im Prolog zum „Menosprecio“ sagt G., er habe den Hof Kaiser Maximilians besucht. Maximilian starb am 12. Januar 1519, G. muß also noch im Jahre 1518 im Gefolge Karls gewelt haben. Während des Jahres 1518 war auch John Bourchier, Lord Berners, als Gesandter Heinrichs VIII. am spanischen Hofe.

Karl von Spanien wurde 1519 zum römischen Kaiser deutscher Nation gewählt. Um seine neue Würde ausfüllen zu können, mußten die ungewohnterweise berufenen Cortes von Kastilien ihm außergewöhnliche Geldmittel bewilligen. Gleich darauf brach der kommunistische Aufstand los. Während desselben wurde G. mehrmals als Parlamentär der Gouverneure an die Rebellen gesandt, um eine friedliche Einigung herbeizuführen. Seine bei einer solchen Gelegenheit zu Villabraxima am 2. Januar 1521 in aristokratischem Sinne gehaltene kühne Rede zeigt uns G.s Königstreue und seine schroffe Stellung den Rebellen gegenüber. Im Namen der Aufständischen sagte der Bischof von Zamora zu ihm u. a., daß er infolge seines Aufenthalts im Kloster nicht wissen könne, was für Ungerechtigkeiten im Reiche vorgekommen seien¹⁾, eine höchst wahrscheinlich zutreffende Behauptung. — Als 1521 der Aufstand zu Ende ging²⁾, war G. mit der Abfassung der Kaiserchronik beschäftigt.

G.s Aufenthalt am englischen Hofe wird wahrscheinlich 1522 während Karls V. Besuch bei Heinrich VIII. stattge-

¹⁾ *Como vos padre os estays en vño monasterio no sabeys las tyrānias que en el reyno se han hecho* (Epist. Fam. 1575, S. 232).

²⁾ Schlacht bei Villalar am 23. April 1521; vgl. Robertson, *History of the Reign of Charles V.*, herausgeg. v. O. Hoelscher, Berlin 1879, S. 83.

funden haben¹⁾. Im selben Jahre versammelte sich zu Burgos ein allgemeines Kapitel der Franziskaner²⁾, bei welcher Gelegenheit G. sich durch seine Beredsamkeit auszeichnete.

Im Jahre 1523 finden wir G. krank zu Burgos³⁾. Er wird sich wahrscheinlich von dort über Navarra nach Frankreich begeben haben⁴⁾. — Im April desselben Jahres bekam G. die Stelle eines Inquisitors, und als solcher brachte er einen großen Teil der folgenden drei Jahre in den Königreichen Valencia und Granada zu, wo er an den Zwangsbekehrungen der Mauren teilnahm. In Granada war G. am 4. Mai 1524⁵⁾, und von dort aus schreibt er auch am 20. Juli 1525⁶⁾, daß er Rom gesehen habe und daß diese Stadt, die zur Zeit des Heidentums die Mutter aller Tugenden gewesen, jetzt unter der Herrschaft des Christentums zur Schule aller Laster geworden sei⁷⁾.

1527 wurde G. von Karl V. dem Papst als Kandidat für den Bischofsstuhl von Guadix empfohlen. Darauf bezieht sich meines Erachtens ein Brief, in dem G. seinen Dank für die Gratulation eines Freundes zu seiner Erhebung auf einen Bischofsstuhl ausspricht. Dabei sagt er, er teile seines Freundes Freude nicht, weil es schwer sei, über die Seelen

¹⁾ Karl V. schiffte sich ein in Calais am 27. Mai 1522 und traf nach 4 Stunden in Dover ein. Vgl. Sandoval S. 127ff.

²⁾ Es handelte sich um die Wahl des Patergenerals: Gewählt wurde Quiñones. Fray Andres de Guadalupe in seiner *Historia de la Santa Provincia de los Angeles* sagt ausdrücklich, daß Quiñones, als er General war, A. de Guevara dem Kaiser als Prediger empfohlen habe (vgl. Cartas de Rhua).

³⁾ Vgl. Epist. Fam. 1575, Fol. 80.

⁴⁾ Vgl. Epist. Fam. 1575, S. 325. (An den Admiral Enriquez).

⁵⁾ Epist. Fam. (An Mosen Puche).

⁶⁾ Epist. Fam. 1575. (An den Gesandten Hieronymo Vique.)

⁷⁾ *No es ya Roma en poder de los Christianos, la q̄ era en tiempo de los Gentiles; porque siendo madre de todas las virtudes, la hemos tornado escuela de todos los vicios . . . De mi digo, que a Roma fuy, a Roma vi, a Roma visite, y a Roma contemple* (Epist. Fam. 1575, Fol. 97. An Hieronymo Vique).

zu herrschen¹⁾: „*Touching the congratulation you sent mee for the Bishoppliche, you are answered by Marcus Aurelius, by whom you see, it is more suretie to the man of religion and learning to follow the exercise of study, then to aspire after gouernment and rule: for that in the one he findes contentment with stabilitie, where the other ministreth nothing but passion, perplexitie and perpetuall subiection to reuolution and change*“²⁾).

1527 weilte G. in Madrid, Valladolid und dann wieder in Madrid³⁾. 1528 schreibt er von Madrid aus an den Admiral Fadrique Enriquez⁴⁾, und im März 1529 hatte er das Bistum Guadix inne. Am 29. August d. J. schreibt er aus Toledo, daß er an dem damals großes Aufsehen erregenden Prozesse gegen die Hexen von Navarra als Inquisitor amtlich beteiligt gewesen sei⁵⁾.

G.s inquisitorische Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1523—1529 führte ihn zu einer mehr und mehr zunehmenden streng kirchlichen Gesinnung. Es entstand in dieser Zeit der eigentliche Relox, der von den bisher gedruckten Schriften G.s das religiöse Moment zuerst in ausgeprägt katholisch-kirchlichem Sinne enthält.

Am 15. Oktober 1529 beklagt G. den Tod des Constable Iñigo de Velasco in einem Briefe: „*Of all great states in this kingdome, I holde some for kinsmen, others my good lordes, some for neighbours, and others for acquainted: but amongst them all, I held him for my singlar good Lorde*

¹⁾ Um denjenigen, denen die Kenntnis des Sp. abgeht, das Verständnis zu erleichtern, habe ich im Folgenden im Texte die engl. Übersetzung statt des Originals zitiert, aber nur, wenn der Sinn des Sp. treu wiedergegeben ist.

²⁾ Golden Epist. Fol. 120. — Vgl. Epist. Fam. (An Alonso Xuarez).

³⁾ Vgl. Epist. Fam. (An Mosen Rubin, Iñigo de Velasco und Alfonso Manrique).

⁴⁾ Vgl. Epist. Fam. S. 168.

⁵⁾ *El no poder responder procedia de que a la fazon votauamos en la inquisicion el negocio de las bruxas de Navarra* (Epist. Fam. Fol. 116—117. An Iñigo Manrique).

and friend for that I found him of a very good conuersation, and of a founde condition“¹⁾. G.s hohe Stellung am Hofe läßt diese bedeutsamen Worte als durchaus glaubwürdig erscheinen.

Am 21. Mai 1531 befand sich G. in Granada: er schrieb zu dieser Zeit dem Bischof von Tuy, dem neuen dortigen Gerichtspräsidenten, was er für die Pflichten eines solchen Amtes halte, und teilte ihm mit, er führe schon zwei Jahre einen Prozeß wegen der Abtei von Baça gegen den Erzbischof von Toledo und habe auch schon einen für ihn günstigen Urteilspruch erlangt. Dieser Prozeß hat G. tief in die Mängel des heimatlichen Rechtswesens blicken lassen, was von Bedeutung für die Entstehung seines „Aviso de privados“ war.

Am 18. Juli 1532 macht G. aus Medina del Campo dem Marquis von los Velez Mitteilungen über den Hof²⁾.

Am 7. Januar 1533 war G. in Toledo³⁾. Im selben Jahre besuchte er sein Bistum Mondoñedo⁴⁾.

Am 30. März 1534 schreibt G. an den Admiral Fadrique Enriquez: ... „*you hold me for a man both carefull and curious, for which cause you suppose (for that I haue passed diuers times with Caesar into Italie, & haue many ways traueled through Spaine) I shulde haue collected & recouered some Epitaphs of Sculptures*“⁵⁾. Im selben Briefe sagt G.: ... „*if*

¹⁾ Vgl. Fam. Epist. S. 167. — *A todos los grandes deste reyno tengo yo, a vnos por deudos, a otros por señores, a otros por vezinos, a otros por conocidos, y entre todos tenia a el por particular señor y amigo: porq̄ le hallaua de muy buena conuersacion y de muy sana condicion.* (Epist. Fam. Fol. 139—140: An den Admiral Fadrique Enriquez).

²⁾ Vgl. Fam. Epist. S. 96 ff.

³⁾ Fam. Epist. S. 321: An den Kanonikus Orosius.

⁴⁾ Fam. Epist. S. 348. Vgl. San Pelayo S. CLXI.

⁵⁾ Fam. Epist., S. 344. — *Dezis tambien señor en vuestra carta q̄ me teneys por hombre cuydadofo y curiofo, por cuya causa teneys en pensamientos q̄ de las vezes q̄ con Cesar he passado a Italia, y de lo mucho q̄ he andado por Hespaña, terne algunos Epitaphios de sepolturas dignos de ver y notables para sacar.* (Epist. Fam. Fol. 323. An Fadrique Enriquez).

you write againe within this halfe yeare, I will refuse to aunswere for that I haue in hand certeine workes of mine owne, presently to be printed and after to be published“¹⁾.

Am 7. Januar 1535 schreibt G. aus Valladolid an den Abt von Monserrat über den günstigen Einfluß, den die Berge auf seine Gemütsstimmung ausüben²⁾. In einem anderen Briefe G.s vom 18. Januar³⁾ desselben Jahres an Pedro Acuña, Grafen von Buendia, klagt er über geistige Ermüdung, die vom „Studieren“ herrühre. Daran schließt er die allgemeine Bemerkung *„my strength decayeth, and also my haire grow hoarie“⁴⁾.*

Am 30. Mai 1535 schiffte sich Kaiser Karl in Barcelona zu seiner Tunis-Expedition ein⁵⁾. In dem Gefolge des Kaisers befand sich auch G., der in Afrika bei den nun folgenden Kämpfen vom Kaiser mit der Pflege der Verwundeten beauftragt wurde⁶⁾. Karls Weiterreise nach Italien wurde durch einen großen Sturm verhindert. Die Schiffe der Flotte wurden zerstreut; manche kamen nach Sizilien, wie z. B. die Galeere des Kaisers, die in Trapani eintraf. Andere Schiffe wurden vom Sturm nach Neapel entführt⁷⁾. Mit diesen mag auch G. nach Neapel gekommen sein. Auf jeden Fall war er daselbst Anfang November mit dem Kaiser: er bemühte sich, Juden durch Disputationen zu bekehren. In einer seiner damaligen Reden⁸⁾ sagt G. den Juden: *„I haue so little*

¹⁾ *... si de aquí a medio año tornays a escriptuir, no os tengo de rescriptuir porq̃ tengo entre manos ciertas obras mias, para luego las imprimir, y despues las publicar.* — Epist. Fam. Fol. 327 (An Fadrique Enriquez).

²⁾ Epist. Fam.

³⁾ Dieses Datum ist den Epist. Fam. von 1575 entnommen; die Fam. Epist. haben als Datum 13. März 1535.

⁴⁾ *... las fuerças desfallecen: y aun los cabellos se encanescen.* — Epist. Fam. S. 114. — Fam. Epist. S. 134—135.

⁵⁾ Vgl. Sandoval S. 287.

⁶⁾ Vgl. Sandoval S. 291.

⁷⁾ Vgl. Sandoval S. 303.

⁸⁾ Fam. Epist. S. 370.

profited, and done so little good amongst you in these five monethes, in arguing, preaching, and disputing“¹⁾).

G. muß mithin früher in Italien eingetroffen sein als Karl V., der nicht ganz fünf Monate dort weilte²⁾).

Die eben angezogene, sowie eine spätere, in Rom gehaltene Rede, die auch in den Epist. Fam. überliefert ist, zeigt, wie erregt solche Disputationen gewesen sein müssen. Manche stark beleidigenden Ausdrücke („*wretched*“, „*wicked*“) werden von G. gebraucht. Kein Wunder, daß er niemanden bekehrte!

Sir Thomas Elyot (1495?—1546), der den Zug nach Tunis im Gefolge des Kaisers als Gesandter Heinrichs VIII. mitmachte, sagt in der Einleitung zu seinem „Image of Governace“, daß ihm die angebliche originale griechische Handschrift dieses Werkes in Neapel von einem gewissen „Herrn Pudericus“ geliehen worden sei. G. und Elyot waren also Mitreisende, und da beide schon höfische Werke verfaßt hatten und ähnliche humanistische Interessen besaßen, so ist anzunehmen, daß sie näher mit einander bekannt geworden waren. Durch eine solche Bekanntschaft mag Elyot größeres Interesse für den L. A. gewonnen haben, so daß er ihn später die Form für sein „Image of Governace“ entlehnte.

Während Karls Zug durch Rom und Florenz, sowie während des erfolglosen Kriegs in der Lombardei und in der Provence befand sich G. im Gefolge des Herrschers. Überall forschte der wißbegierige Chronist nach antiken Dingen. Dies kam ihm späterhin bei der Abfassung seiner Episteln zugute.

Im November 1536 segelte Karl V. von Genua nach Barcelona zurück³⁾.

1537 finden wir G. in Toledo wieder, von wo er am 22. Juli an den Bischof von Karthago schreibt: . . . „*being confessor vnto his maiestie, and Almner vnto the Emperesse I may not escape one day from the Court.*“ Dies zeigt, wie nahe G. in seinen besten Jahren dem Kaiser stand. Ferner

¹⁾ Vgl. Fam. Epist. S. 389.

²⁾ Vgl. Sandoval S. 308.

³⁾ Vgl. Sandoval S. 314.

meint G., das Hofleben sei „*a langhuifhing death*“; aber „*we understand in this court, all that is done, or in practice, through the worlde, which is a matter wherein man doth much delight, & content his spirites, hauing no regarde to other thinges, that might turne him to more profit*“¹⁾.

1538 legte G. die Königschronik beiseite und bereitete im Franziskanerkloster zu Valladolid seine unvollendeten Schriften für die Öffentlichkeit vor. Nachdem G. 1539 Bischof von Mondoñedo geworden war, erschienen zu Valladolid seine „Decada de Emperadores“, „Aviso de Privados“, „Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea“, „Arte de Marear“ und der erste Teil der „Epistolas Familiares“²⁾.

Seit 1539 fängt G. schnell zu altern an. 1542 gibt er den 2. Teil der „Epistolas Familiares“ und seine „Misterios del Monte Calvario“ heraus, welche die fromme Stimmung seiner letzten Lebensjahre widerspiegeln. Noch im selben Jahre wird seine Gesundheit von der Gicht sehr angegriffen. In den folgenden drei Jahren tritt ein schneller Verfall der Kräfte bei ihm ein. Er wendet seine Gedanken jetzt völlig dem Himmel zu und bereitet sich durch Übungen der Frömmigkeit auf sein Hinscheiden vor. Am 7. Januar 1544 macht er sein Testament, und am 3. April 1545 stirbt er zu Mondoñedo, wo er im Dom begraben wird^{3) 4)}.

¹⁾ Fam. Epist. S. 365 ff.

²⁾ Vgl. Antonio unter *Guevara*.

³⁾ Seine Gebeine wurden 1552 neben denen seines Bruders Fernando in der Franziskanerkirche zu Valladolid beigesetzt; doch kann das Grab seit 1837 nicht mehr festgestellt werden, weil damals die Kirche abgerissen wurde (vgl. San Pelayo S. LXV).

⁴⁾ Sandoval sagt, daß G., dessen Schriften und dessen Gelehrsamkeit wohl bekannt seien, im Jahre 1545 gestorben sei, daß er von der Geschichte Karls V., deren Abfassung seine Hauptpflicht als Historiograph war, sehr wenig und dies ohne Zusammenhang hinterlassen habe. Martinez de la Fuente, der Herausgeber von Sandovals Buch, bemerkt dazu, Sandoval habe vier Tage hindurch G.s Geschichte benutzt und manches daraus entlehnt (vgl. Sandoval S. 382, §§ 1—2).

II. Lord Berners' „Golden Boke“.

1. Guevaras „Libro Avreo“ 1529.

A. Überlieferung.

Der „Libro avreo“ wurde zuerst am Hofe bekannt und zwar in einer Original-Hs., die geraubt und abgeschrieben wurde und erst später wieder in die Hände des Verfassers gelangte. G. war damit beschäftigt, den Relox zu beenden (also vor 1527), als der L.A. zuerst in Sevilla, dann in Portugal und Aragonien heimlich erschien. Diese drei Ausgaben waren voll von Fehlern, obwohl manche der ersten Abschriften von G. selbst nach der Original-Hs. korrigiert worden waren.

Meines Wissens ist kein Exemplar einer der unerlaubten Ausgaben erhalten; jedoch werde ich bei der Besprechung der Übersetzungen zeigen, daß die zwei mir bekannten ältesten Ausgaben, die in Antwerpen und Paris erschienen sind, nur Nachdrucke einer der oben genannten Raubausgaben darstellen. Die Antwerpener Ausgabe ist vertreten durch ein gut erhaltenes Exemplar im Brit. Mus. (521. e. 4). Es ist in 4^o, in lateinischer Schrift und mit einer Numerierung (126 Folios) versehen. Auf dem Titelblatt steht:

LIBRO AVREO DE MARCO

Aurelio: emperador: y elo
quentiffimo orador.

Nueuamente
impresso.

*

M.D.X . . .

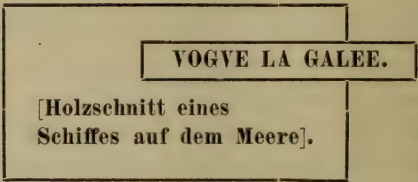
Es folgt zuerst ein Prolog (5 Seiten), darauf das Leben des Mark Aurel (in 48 Kapiteln); dann folgen 19 Briefe, die, mit Ausnahme eines von Boemia an M.A. gerichteten, sämtlich von M.A. herrühren. Auf Brief 19 folgt eine Seite mit einer Anmerkung des Herausgebers, worin das Werk und sein Verfasser sehr gelobt werden. Daran schließt sich folgende Bemerkung: „**¶** *Fue impresso en la triunfante villa de Enueres por Joannes Grapheus. Año del Señor de mill E quinientos E veynte E nueve. Acabose a diez dias del mes de Enero.*“ Den Schluß bildet ein Verzeichnis der Kapitel und Briefe.

Die Pariser Ausgabe des L.A. ist durch ein Quarto-Exemplar vertreten, das auch in lateinischen Buchstaben gedruckt ist und ebenfalls 48 Kapitel und 19 Briefe enthält; es findet sich in der Library of the Faculty of Advocates zu Edinburg. Dies Buch weicht inhaltlich von dem Londoner Exemplar nur in der Schlußbemerkung ab: „*Fue nueuamente impresso en la triunfante oniuersidad de Paris, Par Pedro Vidoue, por Galleot de prado librero. Año del Señor de mill E quinientos E veynte E nueve.*“ Danach ist höchst wahrscheinlich die Antwerpener Ausgabe die ältere, denn es wäre ein großer Zufall, wenn beide Ausgaben in den ersten 10 Tagen des J. 1529 fertig gedruckt worden wären.

Auf dem Titelblatt des Edinburger Exemplars steht:

LIBRO AVREO DE MARCO AV

religio / Emperador y eloquen-
tissimo orador, Nue-
vamente im-
presso.



VOGYE LA GALEE.

[Holzschnitt eines
Schiffes auf dem Meere].

En la triunphante villa de PARIS.
por Galleot de Prado librero
M. DXXIX.

Nuevamente impresso, das sich an den Titel beider Ausgaben anschließt und auch in der Anm. des Druckers der Pariser Ausg. nicht fehlt, bezieht sich meines Erachtens auf diejenige der drei genannten Raubausgaben, deren Nachdrucke die Antwerpener und die Pariser Ausgaben sein können. Freilich könnten letztere auch Nachdrucke zweier verschiedener Raubausgaben sein. — Die zahlreichen späteren Ausgaben des L.A. kommen für uns natürlich nicht in Betracht.

B. Äußere Entstehungsgeschichte.

G. besaß einen großen Wissensdrang. Er selbst sagt 1529, er habe mit der Lektüre und dem Studium *göttlicher und menschlicher* Bücher die meisten seiner Jahre ver-

bracht¹⁾. Durch seine Berufung als Prediger und Chronist des Königs an den durch humanistische Bildung beeinflussten Hof fand er reichlich Gelegenheit, seine Wißbegier zu befriedigen. Daß G. das Kloster, die „Schule seines Studiums“, mit dem Hofe vertauschte, bedeutet für ihn das Aufgeben einer mehr rezeptiven Beschäftigung und die Aufnahme einer mehr forschenden Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiete der Antike, der sich sein Geschmack schon in früheren Jahren zugewandt hatte. Seine Forschungen führten ihn zufällig auf ein Werk, worin ein Teil der Geschichte Mark Aurels nebst einem darin enthaltenen Brief stand. Sie gefiel ihm so gut, daß er sich fortan eifrig bemühte, das ganze Werk aufzufinden²⁾.

Im Prolog des L.A. sagt G., daß er, nachdem er viele Bücher und Bibliotheken durchforscht, mit vielen Gelehrten gesprochen und viele Länder besucht, die Lebensbeschreibung des M.A. in Florenz unter den Büchern aus dem Nachlaß des Cosmo de Medici gefunden habe³⁾. Die Wahrheit dieser Vorspiegelung G.s wurde sofort nach dem Erscheinen des Buches angezweifelt. Dies ersieht man aus der Verteidigung G.s im Prolog des Relox, wo er ausführt, viele seien verwundert gewesen, daß diese Lehren M.A.s so lange verborgen gewesen seien, und hätten behauptet, G. habe sie

¹⁾ *Desque nasci hasta agora assi en el mundo de do fui como en la religion a do me acogi: todo lo mas de mis años he ocupado en leer y | estudiar libros diuinos | y hūanos: avn q̄ cōfesso mi flaq̄za de no auer leydo tāto quāto pudiera: ni he estudiado tāto quāto debiera: (Relox 1529. Prolog Fol. xj).*

²⁾ *Quando me vve salido de los colegios de mi estudio | y lleuado a predicar a palacio: como vi tantas nuevas nouedades en las cortes: acorde cō desseo de saber | darme a indagar y saber cosas antiquas. Acaſso pasando vn dia vna hīſtoria halle en ella esta hyſtoria acotada: y vna epīstola en ella inserta: y pareciome tan buena que pueſſe todo lo que las fuerças humanas alcãcã en buscarla (L.A. Prolog).*

³⁾ *Despues de rebueltos muchos libros: & andadas muchas librerias: hablando cō muchos sabios: peſquisando por muchos reynos: finalmente descubriſe en Florencia entre los libros que dexo cofme de medicis varō por cierto de buena memoria. (L.A.)*

erfunden. Man erkannte also sofort, G. habe seine Lebensgeschichte des M.A. selbst erdacht.

Nach einer anderen Stelle des Relox¹⁾ wurde der M.A. dem G. aus Florenz gebracht. Wenn alle Angaben G.s hierüber wahr wären, so hätte er mithin seine Geschichte des M.A. in Florenz gefunden, und dieses wäre ihm dann später nach Spanien geschickt worden. Das angebliche Florentiner Original wurde jedoch von G. niemals gezeigt; auch suchte G. die Kritik in diesem Punkte nie zu widerlegen, sondern höchstens lächerlich zu machen. G. selbst scheint übrigens kaum damit gerechnet zu haben, daß jemand seine Erfindung, durch die er dem Werke einen Schein von Antiquität verleihen wollte, ernst nehmen würde.

Im Prolog des Relox²⁾ erhalten wir ferner Auskunft über folgende wichtige den L.A. betreffenden Punkte: 1) Die Abfassungszeit fällt zwischen 1518 und 1524; 2) Erst 1524 wurde G.s Verfasserschaft entdeckt; 3) 1524 hat Karl V. das Werk angesehen, als er am Fieber krank darnieder lag; 4) Das Werk war damals noch nicht fertig, und G. hatte noch nicht die Absicht, es so herauszugeben; 5) Die Hs. wurde aus dem Gemach des Kaisers gestohlen und von Pagen abgeschrieben; 6) Die Diebe brachten G. einen Teil des Werkes zum Korrigieren. Die Angaben unter 4 erscheinen mir wenig wahrscheinlich, denn der L.A. ist seinem Inhalte nach abgeschlossener als der Relox.

¹⁾ *Affí como a marco aurelio me truxerõ de florêcia* / (Prolog).

²⁾ *Yo comêce a entêder en la obra enlaño d'mill y quinientos y diez y ocho: y haſta el año de veynte y quatro*: ningúno alcáço en q̄ yo eſtaua ocupado: luego el ſiguiête año d'veynte y quatro: como el libro que tenia yo muy ſecreto eſluuieſe dibulgado: eſtãdo ſu mageſtãd malo de la q̄rtana me lo pidió para paſar t̄po y aliuir ſu calêtura. Yo ſerui a ſu mageſtad entonces cõ marco aurelio: el qual avn no le tenia acabado ni corregido / y ſuplique le . . . q̄ a ningúno dieſſe lugar: q̄ en ſu real camara traſladafſe el libro: porq̄ en tanto q̄ yo yua adelantante con la obra / no era mi fin de publicar la de la manera q̄ eſtõces eſtaua: . . . / el libro fue hurtado / y p̄ manos muy de diuerſas p̄ſonas traydo & traſladado / . . . & por manos d̄ pages le eſcreuiã: como cada*

G. beabsichtigte meiner Ansicht nach zuerst den L.A. allein herauszugeben. Der günstige Eindruck des Werkes auf den Kaiser und auf den Hof hat ihn dann offenbar veranlaßt, den L.A. zu seinem Relox auszuarbeiten. Über Punkt 5 schreibt G. an Iñigo de Velasco: „*As concerning that which you write of Marcus Aurelius, y case standeth thus: that I tranlylated and presented it vnto Caesar not all finished, the which Laxao, did steale from the Emperour, and the Quéene from Laxao, and Tumbas from the Quéene, and the Ladie Aldonfa from Tumbas, & your Lordshippe from the Ladie Aldonfa: in such wise that my fveates ended in your theftes*“¹⁾. Dies steht in einem Briefe, der datiert ist: Madrid, 1. Januar 1524. Dieses Datum wird zutreffend sein, wenn meine Annahme, quatro (*) stehe versehentlich für tres, richtig ist. Obwohl übrigens die Angaben der Epist. Fam. (1538) nur mit Vorsicht zu benutzen sind, erwähne ich hier Folgendes aus G.s Epistel vom 19. August 1524 an Marquis Pescara: „*I beleene your Lordship shall receiue Marcus Aurelius, whiche I do send you.*“ G. wird sich hier auf eine handschriftliche Abschrift des Originals beziehen, die er nach dem Bekanntwerden des Werkes am Hofe an Pescara sandte.

Es ist anzunehmen, daß Laxao G.s Werk im Einverständnis mit dem Kaiser stahl, und da die Diebe dem Verfasser das gestohlene Werk zum Korrigieren brachten, so ist wohl sicher, daß er von dem künftigen heimlichen Erscheinen seines Buches wußte, obwohl er, als dies geschah, davon über-

*dia creceiã enl las faltas: & no auia mas de vn original por do corregirlas: es verdad q̄ me truxerõ algũos a corregir: . . . | ya q̄ yo ádaua alcabo de mi obra | y q̄ria publicar la: remanefce marco aurelio impreso en seuilla / . . . No parãdo enñstõ el negocio impmiero le otra vez en portugal | y luego en los reynos de aragõ | y si fue viciosa la impresiõ primera | no por cierto lo fuerõ menos la segunda y la tercera Relox 1529, Fol. XIII, XIV). [*Quatro steht hier höchst wahrscheinlich versehentlich für tres].*

¹⁾ Fam. Epist., Fol. 220.

rascht zu sein schien. G. kann zu diesem Verhalten dadurch veranlaßt worden sein, daß er mit seinem in der Form rein heidnischen Werke bei den Inquisitoren keinen Anstoß erregen wollte.

G. beabsichtigte, zur moralischen Erziehung des jungen Königs Karl durch eine Schrift beizutragen; dies ist der Anlaß zur Abfassung des „Mark Aurel“ gewesen. M.A. erscheint nämlich als das Musterbild eines Herrschers: G. preist ihn als einen weisen Philosophen und einen sehr gewaltigen Fürsten¹⁾. 1529 meinte G. mit Bezug auf die Lehre des M.A., daß ihn nichts so sehr überrascht habe als zu sehen, daß Gott einem Heiden einen so großen Schatz in den Mund gelegt habe²⁾.

C. Innere Entstehungsgeschichte.

Angebliche Quellen.

G. beansprucht Glaubwürdigkeit für sein Leben des M.A., weil es zusammengestellt sei aus den Schriften, welche die Lehrer dieses Kaisers, Junius Rusticus, Cinna Catullus und Sextus Cheronensis, darüber geschrieben hätten. Ferner deutet G. an, wenige hätten es gekannt; auch habe er es nie gedruckt gesehen³⁾. Er sagt ferner, daß der historische M.A. z. T. Latein, meist aber Griechisch geschrieben habe: aus dem Lateinischen übersetze G. selbständig ins Spanische und aus dem Griechischen mit Hilfe seiner Freunde⁴⁾. M.A.s eigene Schriften werden hier also von G. als Quelle angegeben.

¹⁾ *Otros fabios no fuerō mas de simplemēte phos | mas n̄ro marco aurelio fue pho muy fabio | y p̄cipe muy poderoso | y poresta cosa es razō q̄ fea mas creydo q̄ otro* (Relox, Fol. X; Prologo general).

²⁾ *De todo lo q̄ he leydo ningūa cosa t̄to me ha esp̄tado | como es la doctrina de marco aurelio: por ver q̄ en la boca de vn pagano: pufiese dios t̄a gr̄a thesoro* (Relox, Fol. XI).

³⁾ L.A., Prolog. — Relox, Fol. XIII.

⁴⁾ Relox, Fol. XI.

Ferner sagt G., er habe aus vielen Historiographen geschöpft und manches Unnötige und Langweilige durch Angenehmes und Nützliches ersetzt¹⁾. G. erwähnt außer den vorgenannten Gewährsmännern im selben Prolog nur Erodianus, Eutropius, Lampridius, Julius Capitolinus und sagt, er kenne viele andere, die über das Leben M.A.s nur nach Hörensagen, also nicht in glaubwürdiger Weise wie er, geschrieben hätten.

Was G.s eigenen Anteil an der Schöpfung seiner Geschichte anbetrifft, so meint er, daß jeder Weise nach dem Lesen des Buches in ihm weder den Verfasser des Werkes sehen, noch auch die Autorschaft ihm völlig absprechen werde, weil einerseits so viele treffende Sentenzen in der Gegenwart nicht vorhanden seien, andererseits solch gehobener Stil in der Vergangenheit nie erreicht worden sei²⁾. Wie viel übrigens G. den Alten verdankt, ersieht man schon aus der Fülle antiker Zitate³⁾.

Biographisches.

Es war die Aufgabe des Hofchronisten G., die wichtigsten politischen Geschehnisse der Zeit im Rahmen der Biographie seines Herrschers darzustellen.

Die Chroniken hatten in Spanien eine lange Entwicklung gehabt, die in Pero Lopez de Ayalas (1332—1407) berühmter „Chronik Peters des Grausamen“ ihren Gipfel erreicht hatte. Sie arteten später aus in Geschichten wie „Das Leben und die Taten des großen Tamerlan“, welche die Brücke zum Ritterroman bilden⁴⁾.

Von seiner offiziellen Chronik soll G. sehr wenig ge-

¹⁾ L.A., Prolog.

²⁾ L.A., Schluß des Prologs.

³⁾ Menendez y Pelayo, Bd. I. S. CCCLXIX, sagt, daß G. aus Herodian, Lampridius, Julius Capitolinus das Historische geschöpft habe.

⁴⁾ Vgl. Hume, K. II f.

schrieben haben¹⁾; er erwähnt sie nur um zu sagen, daß er mit ihr beschäftigt sei²⁾. G. hatte kein Interesse an einer wahren Geschichtschreibung. Er bot Wahrheit und Dichtung, gab jedoch sein Werk für ganz wahr aus³⁾. Die in den entarteten spanischen Chroniken übliche Mischung von Wahrheit und Dichtung war G. für sein Leben des M.A. vorbildlich. Historisch an G.s M.A. ist dessen Milde und Neigung zum Philosophieren, wie auch der Leichtsinns der Faustina⁴⁾ und die Schlechtigkeit des Commodus⁵⁾. Der Haß des historischen M.A. gegen die Spieler tritt auch bei G. stark hervor⁶⁾. Historisch ist es ferner, daß M.A. den größten Teil seines Lebens zu Rom verbringt. An politischen Begebenheiten werden der Partherkrieg erwähnt und der Krieg in Pannonien⁷⁾. Der erfundene Einfall der Mauritanier in Großbritannien⁸⁾ hängt zusammen mit G.s Kenntnis vom Aufstande der Britannier, der im Anfang der Regierung M.A.s (zwischen 161 und 165) stattfand⁹⁾. Die Pest, die während M.A.s Regierung Italien verwüstete, wird von G. erwähnt¹⁰⁾, um daran die Erzählung vom Donaubaunern¹¹⁾ zu knüpfen. G. läßt seinen Helden langsam verschwinden, so daß er bis zu einer Viertelstunde vor seinem Tode Zeit hat, lange Reden zu halten, welche acht Kap. füllen¹²⁾. Die Reden des Helden setzt G. am Schluß der 48 Kap. des Lebens M.A.s in den 19 Briefen fort, die den zweiten Teil der Biographie M.A.s bilden. Veranlaßt sind diese Briefe durch M.A.s erfundene freundschaftliche Beziehungen und (die letzten 5) durch seine erfundenen Liebschaften. — Das Werk ist also im ganzen nicht historisch, wie G. vorgibt: es ist vielmehr

¹⁾ Vgl. Sandoval, Lib. 26. §§ 1. 2.

²⁾ Vgl. Epist. Fam.

³⁾ *No haga vuestra merced hincapie en Historias Gentiles, y prophanas; pues no tenemos mas certinidad, que digan verdad vnos, que otros, & pro utraque parte militant argumenta* (Rhua, S. 66).

⁴⁾ L.A., K. 34.

⁵⁾ L.A., K. 42.

⁶⁾ L.A., K. 14, Br. 12.

⁷⁾ L.A., K. 39—48.

⁸⁾ L.A., K. 22.

⁹⁾ Watson, S. 61.

¹⁰⁾ L.A., K. 28, 29.

¹¹⁾ L.A., K. 30, 31.

¹²⁾ L.A., K. 41—48.

ein auf dürftiger historischer Grundlage fußender biographischer Roman.

In der Gattung des biographischen Romans hat höchstwahrscheinlich Xenophons Kyrupädie dem G. als Vorbild gedient. Ticknor hat bereits auf die Ähnlichkeit beider Werke hingewiesen¹⁾, und Menendez y Pelayo hat in B. III. Kap. 50—57 des Relox eine direkte Nachahmung der Kyrupaedie sehen wollen²⁾.

Es besteht allerdings eine gewisse Übereinstimmung zwischen dem ersten Kap. des L.A. und dem Anfang von Buch 1 der Kyrupaedie, nämlich da, wo von der erlauchten Geburt beider Herrscher die Rede ist. Die Prozessionen, die in Rom anlässlich des Janusfestes stattfanden³⁾, erinnern an die Prozessionen der Kyrupaedie⁴⁾. Der Senator Fulvius, der M.A. tadelt, weil er am Janusfeste zu den Gefangenen gegangen war⁵⁾, erinnert an den Daipharnes der Kyrupaedie⁶⁾. M.A. verteidigt sich in einer großen Rede, während Kyros dem unwillig gehorchenden Daipharnes sagen läßt, er brauche seine Dienste nicht mehr. Das Verfahren beider Herrscher bei dieser Gelegenheit zeigt in typischer Weise, wie beide sich von einander unterscheiden: M.A. ist der Held des Wortes, Kyros der Held der Tat.

M.A. spricht von der Erziehung seines Sohnes und berührt dabei die Tugenden, zu denen er ihn durch seine Erzieher geleitet haben möchte⁷⁾. Eben dieselben Tugenden werden bei der Erziehung des Kyros erstrebt.

Die Rede des Panutius und die letzten Reden des M.A.⁸⁾ erinnern stark an die Rede, in der Kyros seinem Sohne Kambyses vor dem Hinscheiden Ratschläge erteilt⁹⁾. Wohl die weitgreifendste Ähnlichkeit beider Werke besteht darin, daß das Historische nur den Rahmen abgibt zu der erfun-

¹⁾ Ticknor, II. 14.

²⁾ Menendez y Pelayo, Bd. I, S. CCCLXXI.

³⁾ L.A., K. 16. ⁴⁾ Xenophon, Institutio Cyri, B. 8. ⁵⁾ L.A., K. 16.

⁶⁾ Inst. Cyri, B. 8. ⁷⁾ L.A., K. 6—9. ⁸⁾ L.A., K. 40—48.

⁹⁾ Inst. Cyri, B. 8.

denen Lebensbeschreibung zweier durch Gerechtigkeitssinn und Selbstbeherrschung verwandter Herrschernaturen. Diese Eigenschaften werden dem Kyros durch Erziehung zur Politik und zur Tatkraft beigebracht. Die konsequente Betätigung jener Eigenschaften verschafft ihm eine königliche Würde, die als selbstverständlich erscheint. Bei G.s M.A. hingegen sind dieselben Charakterzüge weit mehr die Folge einer wesentlich auf die Ausbildung philosophischer Vernunft abzielenden Erziehung, die M.A. nicht jene Tatkraft verleiht, die Kyros aus militärischer Zucht gewinnt.

Kyros wurde zur Mäßigkeit und zum Ertragen körperlicher Anstrengungen angehalten. In Letzterem ist M.A. gänzlich ungeübt; auch ist er nicht so mäßig wie Kyros. — Kyros ist als Knabe beredsam, M.A. sein ganzes Leben lang. — K.s Unterhaltung war anregend, was auch G. für seinen M.A. beansprucht. — K. war bescheiden in seinem Wesen: G. will dieselbe Eigenschaft seinem M.A. zuerkannt wissen; doch macht dieser, indem er so häufig philosophische Lehren erteilt, keinen ausgesprochen bescheidenen Eindruck. — K. zeigt persönlichen Mut, der dem M.A. fehlt. — Beide sind freigebig: Kyros mehr aus Berechnung als aus Güte. — Beide lieben die Arbeit. — K. vermag mit militärischer Strenge die Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten, M.A. dagegen redet zu seiner Umgebung in den Wind. — K. und M.A. haben beide einen stark religiösen Zug, der sie an die Götter heftet. Jedes Mal, wenn K. eine große Tat ausführen will, fragt er die Götter durch Opfer, und es wird ihm dann Antwort zuteil durch das Eingreifen der Gottheit, die sich in Naturerscheinungen wie Blitz kundgibt. Auch im Leben M.A.s spielen überirdische Mächte eine Rolle: sie sagen ihm kommendes Unheil voraus¹⁾. — Die Weisheit und Freigebigkeit des Kyros werden wesentlich in der Richtung berechnender Politik betätigt, um die Anhänglichkeit selbst der

¹⁾ Zeller, E., Die Philosophie der Griechen, Leipzig 1880, 3, 1, S. 345 ff.

eben noch feindlich gesinnten zu gewinnen. M.A.s Weisheit verfolgt dagegen hauptsächlich moralische Ziele, wenn sie auch gelegentlich von politischer Berechnung geleitet ist. So ist er den Gefangenen gegenüber huldvoll, weil er damit die Herzen ihrer Völker zu gewinnen hofft.

M.A.s Mangel an Konsequenz, der Widerspruch zwischen seinen philosophischen Theorien und seiner Lebensführung sind Charakterschwächen, von denen Kyros frei ist. Dem körperlich starken und politisch klugen K. gegenüber steht der körperlich eher schwache, seelisch nur immer stark sein wollende M.A. da, dessen andauerndes Philosophieren uns kalt läßt, weil seiner Lebensphilosophie die Grundlage, die entsprechenden Taten, die sie erhärten sollen, fehlt. Im ganzen genommen erscheint uns K., trotzdem er ein berechnender Politiker, ja ein Gewaltmensch ist, menschlicher als M.A.

Das oben dargelegte Verhältnis des L.A. zur Kyrop. führt mich dazu, die Kyrop. als Vorbild für den L.A. auf dem Gebiete des biographischen Romanes anzusehen, so zwar, daß die Kyrop. ein teilweise entgegengesetztes Herrscherideal vertritt. G. selbst berichtet: Xenophon habe ein Buch über die Unterweisung des Fürsten geschrieben, worin dargestellt werde, wie König Kambyzes seinen Sohn Kyros belehrt¹⁾.

Philosophisches.

Der L.A. gehört zu jener typischen Literaturgattung der Renaissance, die der weltlich-praktischen Ethik dient. Er wurde zu einer Zeit geschrieben, als die von Petrarca begründete Richtung der Moralphilosophie ihren Einfluß auf Spanien ausübte. Diese Philosophie suchte in der Hauptsache die stoischen Lehren neu zu beleben, besonders diejenigen der römischen Kaiserzeit, die bei Petrarca selbst und während des 15. und 16. Jhdts. mit christlichen Vorstellungen vermischt wurden²⁾. Auch der hervorragendste

¹⁾ Relox, Prologo general.

²⁾ Vgl. Dilthey, Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos. IV. 631.

Denker Spaniens zu jener Zeit, Ludovicus Vives (1492—1540), ist in seiner Ethik von der Stoa tief beeinflusst¹⁾.

Die Übereinstimmungen, die zwischen den „Selbstbetrachtungen“ des historischen M.A. und dem L.A. bestehen, lassen keinen Zweifel darüber, daß G. die Selbstbetr. gekannt hat. Weil aber die Selbstbetr. erst 1558 in Zürich von Gulielmus Xylander (in lateinischer Sprache) gedruckt wurden, kann G. einen Druck derselben nicht gekannt, er muß vielmehr eine Hs. benutzt haben. Da nun bis zum heutigen Tage in Florenz drei Bruckstücke von Handschriften der Selbstbetr. aufbewahrt werden²⁾, so könnte man annehmen, daß G. sie in Florenz sah — er gibt ja bekanntlich an, daß er seine Geschichte M.As in Florenz gefunden habe³⁾. — Die in seinem Werke enthaltenen Grundlehren hat er offenbar der Philosophie des historischen M.A. entlehnt.

Für den historischen M.A. gehört der Mensch völlig zur Allnatur. Er ist ein zur Tätigkeit⁴⁾ bestimmtes geselliges⁵⁾ Wesen, dessen höchstes Ziel darin besteht, in Einklang mit der Natur zu leben⁶⁾. Durch seine höchste Gabe, die Vernunft, soll er alle Affekte unterdrücken, um eine heitere Seelenruhe⁷⁾ zu erreichen, die ihn über alles Vergängliche⁸⁾ erhebt. Er wird dann den Tod als ein Gut betrachten, welches der Allnatur zuträglich ist⁹⁾.

Das Verhältnis von G.s M.A. zur Natur ist nicht so ausgeprägt monistisch; häufig zieht er indes die Natur zum Vergleich heran, wenn er nämlich einer moralischen Handlung

¹⁾ Vgl. Ueberweg-Heinze, Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie, Berlin 1907, III. S. 37.

²⁾ Watson, S. 310.

³⁾ L.A., Prolog; Relox, Prolog.

⁴⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν, B.E. α, S. 47.

⁵⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν, B.E. ις, S. 57 u. B.T, ζ, S. 26.

⁶⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν, B.IB. α, S. 156.

⁷⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν, B.A. η, S. 3.

⁸⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν, B.Θ. λ, S. 121.

⁹⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν, B.IB. κδ, S. 163.

durch Analogie eine Grundlage geben will¹⁾. So stellt G. einen Naturmenschen als Vertreter der Wahrheit und der Gerechtigkeit den verderbten Römern gegenüber²⁾. G.s M.A. ist ferner heiter, liebenswürdig³⁾ und gesellig⁴⁾. — Der leitende Grundsatz seiner Pädagogik ist, gut zu handeln, denn darauf beruht die Tugend und der Erfolg. Die Ethik des G.schen M.A. hat zum Grundbegriff die Weisheit, wie sie sich bei Sokrates und in den früheren Dialogen Platos findet. Sie unterscheidet sich von der späteren Ethik des Plato (Republik, usw.) darin, daß bei der letzteren die Tugend zwei Quellen hat, während die einheitliche stoische Tugend von G.s M.A. ausschließlich aus der Weisheit her stammt. Die Weisheit führt zum Guten⁵⁾: sie ist göttlich⁶⁾ und vereinigt den Menschen mit den Göttern. Diese sokratische Weisheit steht hier anstelle der Vernunft in den Selbstbetr. Die Weisheit muß für G.s M.A. zur Unterdrückung der Affekte⁷⁾ und zur Überwindung des Leidens führen⁸⁾. G.s M.A. aber erliegt oft seinen Affekten und besitzt daher nicht die Festigkeit des historischen M.A. Er strebt aber danach, die stoische Seelenruhe zu bewahren, was ihm auch, als die Nachrichten über die Landung der Mauritanier in Großbritannien eintreffen, gelingt. Er ist nicht immer Herr seiner Gefühle: der Schmerz über den Tod des Verissimus überwältigt ihn so, daß er mehrere Tage lang nicht in den Senat geht. Auch fürchtet er den Tod, obwohl er vorgibt, nur darum betrübt zu sein, weil er Commodus zurücklasse. Er tröstet sich aber mit der Hoffnung, daß er durch den Tod mit den Göttern zusammenkomme⁹⁾. Das Verhältnis von Gott zur Natur ist für G.s M.A. ein dualistisches (wie bei der römischen Stoa). Dies zeigt sich in dem Eingreifen der Gottheit in menschliche Dinge¹⁰⁾. Die Verkündung künftigen Unglücks durch un-

¹⁾ Der stoische Begriff der Natur ist die unbewußte Triebfeder bei allen Anziehungen der Natur durch G.s M.A.

²⁾ L.A., K. 30, 31.

³⁾ L.A., K. 14.

⁴⁾ L.A., K. 15.

⁵⁾ L.A., K. 30.

⁶⁾ L.A., K. 7.

⁷⁾ L.A., K. 7.

⁸⁾ L.A., K. 15.

⁹⁾ L.A., K. 43.

¹⁰⁾ L.A., K. 26 (Das sizilische Ungeheuer).

natürliche Geschehnisse, z. B. durch Regen von Milch und Blut¹⁾ und durch den Tod von drei Paar Tieren, indem eines wenige Tage nach dem anderen zu den Füßen des Kaisers stirbt¹⁾, beruht auf der stoischen Mantik²⁾. Da die Weisheit den Grundbegriff der Philosophie von G.s M.A. bildet, versteht es sich von selbst, daß er die geistigen Güter über Alles schätzt. Daraus folgt auch, daß G.s M.A. das geistige Heldentum dem kriegerischen überordnet, was ebenso in den „Selbstbetrachtungen“³⁾ vorkommt. — Als Aristokraten des Geistes kommen beide M.A. zur Geringschätzung der unwissenden Menge⁴⁾. — Über den Ruhm gehen ihre Meinungen auseinander: der historische M.A. hält ihn bei der Vergänglichkeit aller Dinge für wertlos⁵⁾, während G.s M.A., als echter Renaissancesproß, ihn sehr hoch schätzt und ihn auf die Weisheit gründet⁶⁾.

Soziologisches.

Auf der Weisheit beruht das Herrscherrecht von G.s M.A. Seinem soziologischen Gedankengange kann man den Satz zu Grunde legen: Fürsten sind unter der Voraussetzung gewählt, daß sie mehr wissen als andere⁷⁾. Der Weise soll gut sein⁸⁾: dann wird er gewaltig⁹⁾ werden können. — Die Faulheit führt zur Bosheit und ist also dem Staate schädlich¹⁰⁾. Selbst das Schlechte im Leben der Fürsten wird vom Volke nachgeahmt; man ist freilich nicht verpflichtet, den Fürsten darin zu folgen¹¹⁾; ihre rechtmäßigen Befehle aber soll man ausführen. — Kurz: das Volk soll vom Fürsten zur Tugend geführt werden, der Fürst soll der Erzieher seines Volkes sein. — Der Thron ist auf dem Willen

¹⁾ L.A., K. 28.

²⁾ Vgl. Zeller, 3.1., S. 342 ff. und 3.2., S. 254.

³⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, B.H. γ, S. 96.

⁴⁾ L.A., K. XII; τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, B.A. ις.

⁵⁾ τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, B.Θ, λ', S. 121.

⁶⁾ L.A., K. 25.

⁷⁾ L.A., K. 30.

⁸⁾ L.A., K. 7.

⁹⁾ L.A., K. 25.

¹⁰⁾ L.A., K. 23, 25.

¹¹⁾ L.A., K. 4.

des Volkes aufgebaut, und die Liebe ist daher für politische Zwecke ein besseres Mittel als die Furcht¹⁾. M.A. setzt sich in unmittelbare Berührung mit den Leuten, um die Ursachen ihrer Unzufriedenheit kennen zu lernen²⁾. Dieser weiseste aller Kaiser ist zugleich der tugendhafteste aller Menschen. In ihm ist Platos Ideal, wonach die Philosophen Könige und die Könige Philosophen sein sollten, verwirklicht worden³⁾. Er verdient also, das Musterbild der Fürsten zu sein. — Dieses milde, passive Ideal des stoischen Weisen verträgt sich gut mit der christlichen Anschauung des G., und, wie sich in seiner Bevorzugung der Wissenschaft gegenüber dem Kriege zeigt, ist es ganz dem starren Machtideal von Machiavellis „Principe“ (1513) entgegengesetzt.

Seinem soziologischen Ziele nach ist der L.A. ein Fürstenspiegel. Als solchem ist ihm in Spanien eine reiche Literatur vorangegangen, deren moralisierende Elemente auf „Kalila wa Dimna“⁴⁾ (in kastilianischer Sprache) zurückgehen. Das erste bedeutende Denkmal dieser Literatur ist der „Libro de los castigos é documentos“ (1292), von Sancho dem Tapferen für seinen Sohn Fernando geschrieben⁵⁾, und Raimund Lulls „Blanquerna“⁶⁾, ein pädagogischer Utopie-Roman, der unter dem Einflusse von Platos „Republik“ steht. Dem „Blanquerna“ auf sozialem Gebiet ähnlich⁷⁾ und durch ihn veranlaßt ist der „Libro de los Estados“ des Infanten Juan Manuel, dessen berühmtes „Libro de los Enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio“ (1335) aus Erzählungen besteht, welche alle eine für Fürsten und Adelige berechnete Moralvorschrift erläutern sollen. Im 15. Jhdt.

¹⁾ L.A., K. 17.

²⁾ L.A., K. 18.

³⁾ Rep. é, 18.

⁴⁾ Vgl. Menendez y Pelayo, Bd. I, S. XVIff.

⁵⁾ Vgl. Menendez y P., Bd. I, S. LXXI.

⁶⁾ *El Blanquerna*, . . . merece con toda propiedad el título de *novela social y pedagógica* (Menendez y P., Bd. I, S. LXXX).

⁷⁾ Vgl. Menendez y P., Bd. I, S. LXXXVIII.

schrieb Alfonso de la Torre seine für die Erziehung des Prinzen von Viana berechnete „*Vision delectable de la filosofia y artes liberales*“, die unter dem Einflusse von Boëthius’ „*De consolatione*“ steht¹⁾. Der Humanismus förderte in Spanien die Kenntniss der Literatur über Fürstenerziehung. Dabei wurden besonders die Fürstenspiegel von Thomas Aquinas und seinem Schüler Egidio Colonna weiteren Kreisen bekannt.

Thomas Aquinas (1225—1274) schrieb einen in vier Bücher zerfallenden Fürstenspiegel „*De Regimine Principum*“, den er Hugo II. (1269) von Cypern gewidmet haben soll und worin dem Fürsten Ratschläge erteilt werden²⁾.

Egidio Colonna oder Gilles de Rome (1427?—1316) schrieb seinerseits auf Ersuchen des Kronprinzen Philipp, des späteren Philipp des Schönen, und unter dem Einflusse seines verehrten Lehrers Thomas den Traktat „*De regimine Principum*“ (1285?), den er dem Kronprinzen widmete³⁾. Dieses Werk besteht aus drei Büchern, von denen das erste besonders die Lebensführung des Fürsten betrifft. Das zweite handelt besonders vom Regiment des Fürsten in der Familie, und das dritte von der Verwaltung des Staates durch den Fürsten. Colonna geht bei der Besprechung der Tugenden, die ein Fürst haben sollte, von Platos *Summum bonum* aus. Von der Selbstbeherrschung des Fürsten wie von den Sitten der Jungen und Alten wird ausführlich gehandelt. Das 2. Buch erläutert das Verhältniss von Mann und Weib, das der Eltern zu den Kindern und das des Herrn zu den Dienern. Den Kindern soll man die Mittel zur Verfügung stellen, um gut zu leben, und ihnen eine angemessene Erziehung angedeihen lassen. Fürstenskinder sollten vor allem die moralischen Wissenschaften kennen lernen, um sich selbst und andere beherrschen zu

¹⁾ Vgl. Menendez y P., Bd. I, S. CXXIII.

²⁾ Hist. litt. de la France, XXX, 524.

³⁾ Hist. litt. de la France, XXX, 421—3.

können. Auch sozial-ökonomische Fragen, wie Grundlage, Zuwachs und richtige Verwendung des Vermögens, werden behandelt. — Das dritte Buch hebt an mit der Darlegung der Staatstheorien von Plato, Aristoteles und anderen Philosophen. Daran schließt sich eine Betrachtung über die beste Regierungsform. Colonna stellt dann die Pflichten eines Königs im Frieden und im Kriege dar, wobei er zugleich von militärischen Taktiken, von Festungen, von der Belagerung von Schlössern und Städten und vom Schiffsbau spricht. — Colonnas Werk ist wohl der einflußreichste Fürstenspiegel der Humanistenzeit. Es soll erst 1491 zu Sevilla in einer Folioausgabe unter dem Titel „Regimento de principes, seu Ægidi Romani de Regimine principum opus“ erschienen sein¹⁾. — Die Dreiteilung in Colonnas Fürstenspiegel diente höchst wahrscheinlich dem G. als Muster für die Disposition des Relox.

Augenscheinlich unter dem Einfluß von Colonnas „Regimento de principes“ entstand der allegorisch-politische Roman „Regimento de Principes ó gobierno del rey Prudenciano en el reino de la Verdad“ vom Jahre 1518, dessen Hs. seit 1838 verloren ist. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß dieses Werk eins der wichtigsten Vorbilder für G.s L.A. (1518—24) gewesen ist.

2. Bertauts „Livre dore“ 1531.

A. Überlieferung.

Die erste Ausgabe des von Rene Bertaut (oder Berthault) de la Grise ins Französische übersetzten „Libro Avreo“ ist im Brit. Mus. (521. e. 1) durch ein Exemplar vertreten. Auf dem Titelblatt steht:

¹⁾ In der Pariser Bibliothèque Nationale findet sich ein Exemplar der durch den Deutschen Ungut und den Polen Stanislas zu Sevilla 1494 gedruckten Ausgabe.

Livre dore de marc

Aurele empereur et eloquent orateur / Tra-
duit de / vulgaire Castilian en Frãcoys
par R. B. / de la grise Secretaire de mon-
seigneur / le reuerẽdissime Cardinal de
gramont, Nouuellement
imprime a Paris.

¶ Auer priuilege.

∞ On les vend a Paris en la grant salle du Palais en la
boutique de Gaillot du pre libraire iure de Luniuersite de
Paris.

¶ Mil. D. C. XXXI.

„*Nouuellement imprime a Paris*“ ist eine Nachbildung
des sp. „*Nueuamente impresso*“. „*Nouuellement*“ bedeutet
hier also nicht „von neuem“, sondern „neulich, kürzlich“. Das
Buch ist in 4^o und in gotischen Buchstaben gedruckt
(Brit. Mus. 521. e. 1).

Blatt 2 enthält die königliche Druck- und Verkaufserlaubnis; diese steht unter einem Holzschnitt, der das von
zwei Engeln gehaltene französische Königswappen darstellt. Blatt 3 bringt die Widmung an Königin Margarete von
Navarra, die Schwester Franz I. Auf den sechs folgenden
Seiten ist der Inhalt der 48 Kapitel und 19 Briefe, den
sp. Ausgaben von 1529 entsprechend, verzeichnet. Auf dem
nächsten Blatt (als Folio I bezeichnet) fängt der Prolog
an, der bis Fol. III reicht. Mit Fol. IIII beginnt das
1. Kapitel. Die Kapitel enden Fol. XCIX, wo die Briefe
anfangen, die bis Fol. XCIX reichen; hierauf folgt die
Schlußbemerkung des Herausgebers bis zu Fol. CLXXIIII.
Daran schließt sich folgende Anmerkung: „¶ *Le present
volume de Marc aurele empereur / autrement dit le liure
dor a este acheue dimprimer le premier iour Dauril*

mil cinq cens XXX. Par Nicolas coufseau Imprimeur demourant a Paris pour Galliot du pre libraire iure de Luniuerfite dudit lieu.“ Da nun aber die königliche Erlaubnis zum Druck und Verkauf erst am 24. April 1531 erteilt wurde, muß irgend ein besonderer Grund für das Nachholen der Erlaubnis vorhanden gewesen sein. Es ist möglich, daß Bert. seine Hs. aus Italien nach Paris schickte, erst ein Jahr später am Hofe eintraf und persönlich die Erlaubnis zur Veröffentlichung seiner Übersetzung nachsuchte. Sicher aber ist diese Ausgabe die erste, die in Frankreich überhaupt erschien.

Die Pariser Bibliothèque Nationale besitzt ein 4^o-Exemplar des „Livre dore“, das eine Ausgabe zu vertreten scheint, die ein bloßer Abdruck der Ausgabe von 1531 ist. Es wurde am 10. April 1533, auch von Nicolas Coufseau, fertig gedruckt.

B. Veranlassung zur Übersetzung.

Da Karls V. Reich gerade diejenigen Länder umfaßte, in denen der Humanismus seine höchste Blüte entfaltet hatte, so ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß viele literarische Strömungen des Humanismus an seinem Hofe sich kreuzten. Auch die auswärtigen Gesandten waren an der humanistischen Literatur beteiligt. Von ihnen war um 1525 Baldassar Castiglione, der Gesandte Clemens VII., der bedeutendste. Er hat in Spanien seinen „Cortegiano“ vollendet, so daß das Buch 1528 zu Venedig erscheinen konnte. Er starb 1529 zu Toledo.

Anfang 1526 kam der Kardinal de Grantmont, Erzbischof von Toulouse, an den spanischen Hof, um im Auftrage der Regentin Frankreichs über die Freilassung Franz I.¹⁾ zu verhandeln. Sekretär des Kardinals war bei dieser Gelegenheit Rene Berthault de la Grise, der

¹⁾ Franz I. wurde am 18. März 1526 freigelassen.

über seinen Aufenthalt in Spanien berichtet: „cōme le temps descouvre toutes choses | & faict venir au point par congnoissance et experience | loccasson de ceste mienne entreprinse des lanne mil cinq cens vingt six & vingt & sept | soubz feu de bonne memoire messire Gabriel cardinal de grāmout au dernier voyage quil feist en Espaigne | ou demeura vng an entier | et en cest an les quatre derniers moys que la maieste de cesar Charles cinquiesme detint le dit feu seigneur renomme | prisonnier | et nous aultres avecques luy | Et la (pour et a celle fin que ie occupasse le temps) me gestay aux liures que ie peuz trouuer au dit lieu | entre lesquelz leuz le petit liure dore lequell me tyra tant de moy que tout le iour ne la plus grande partie de la nuict ne me suffisoient tāt pour le lire que pour le scripre“¹⁾.

Die erste Übersetzung von G.s Erstlingswerk war also eine Folge von Karls V. Sieg bei Pavia (1525)²⁾. Die große Anziehungskraft, die G.s Buch auf Bert. ausübte, läßt sich leicht verstehen, wenn man bedenkt, daß seine hervorragende Stellung am Hofe ihn mit dem französischen höfischen Renaissancegeschmack vertraut machen mußte. Es war eben die Zeit, als die große französische Renaissancebewegung der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts sich vorbereitete, und nur einige Jahre vor dem entscheidenden Schritt des französischen Humanismus, nämlich der Gründung des Collège de France (1530)³⁾. Diese Gründung wurde von Franz I. veranlaßt, welcher auch folgende Erlaubnis gab: „FRancoys par la grace de dieu roy de France . . . Rene berthault secretaire de nostre cher et ayne cousin le cardi-

¹⁾ L'orloge des Princes . . . Paris 1550, Prologue du traducteur.

²⁾ Franz I. regte während seiner Madrider Gefangenschaft die erste Übertragung des Amadis ins Französische an. Der „Livre dore“ ist also die zweite Übersetzung eines höchst wichtigen Werkes der spanischen Literatur, die durch jenen dynastischen Einfluß veranlaßt wurde.

³⁾ Vgl. Dilthey, A. f. G. d. P. IV. 647.

nal de Grantmont nous a fait dire et remonſtrer que puis certain tēps en cas eſtāt au ſeruice de noſtre dit couſin tant es Eſpaignes que Italles pour noz affaires pour euitier et fuyr oyſiueſte ſe ſeroit occupe a traduyre et mettre de langage eſpagnol en vulgaire françois le liure dor de Marc aurele empereur oeuvre ſinguliere de grant erudiction et proffit. Lequel liure feroit vouldentiers imprimer et mettre en euidence ſi noſtre plaifir eſtoit luy permettre nous humblement requerrant ce faire. Pourquoi nous ces choſes cōſiderees deſirans de tout noſtre pouuoir faire florir les bonnes lettres en noſtre royaulme et mettre en euidence. Et autres cauſes a ce nous mouuās au dit Berthault auons permis . . . q̄l puiſſe faire imprimer et vendre le dit liure de Marc aurele par luy traduit . . . par Galliot du pre libraire iure de noſtre vniuerſite de Paris . . . Donne a Vannes le. XXIII^e. iour Dauril lan de grace Mil cinq cens XXXI. Et de noſtre regne le XVII^e¹⁾. Bemerkenswert iſt der hier bekundete Wunsch des Königs, „die Literatur zur Blüte zu bringen“, weil er zu einer Zeit ausgesprochen wird, als Franz I., Petrus Castellanus und Budaeus ihre mächtige Anregung zu der Renaissancebewegung in Frankreich vom Hofe aus gaben²⁾.

Nach der Befreiung des Kardinals de Grantmont finden wir dieſen mit Bert. 1529 in Rom, wo letzterer weiteres Interesse für M.A. bekundet. Mit Begeisterung erzählt er von den Nachforschungen, die ihn zu der Entdeckung führten, daß das Reiterſtandbild auf dem Lateran, welches nach einer alten römischen Volkssage einen Bauern darſtellt, der die Stadt befreit hatte, ein Denkmal des M.A. ſei³⁾.

Die innere Ursaſche von Bert.s Interesse an M.A. lag, wie es in der Widmung des Buches an die Königin von Navarra, die Schweſter Franz I., heißt, in den „*profonds et*

¹⁾ L'orloge des Princes . . . 1550.

²⁾ Vgl. Dilthey, A. f. G. d. P. IV. 647.

³⁾ L'orloge, Prolog. — Dies iſt das berühmte Reiterſtandbild M.A.s, das ſeit 1538 auf dem Kapitolplatz in Rom ſteht.

vertueux enseignements“ von G.s Darstellung, die für ihn die Hauptveranlassung zu seiner Übersetzung gewesen sind.

Nach dem Tode des Kardinals (1534)¹⁾ trat Bert. in den Dienst des Dauphin ein. Daß G.s Geschichte des M.A. noch immer den Mittelpunkt seines literarischen Interesses bildete, beweist seine Übersetzung des „Relox“, der, als „L'orloge“ dem Dauphin gewidmet, 1540 erschien. Für die Popularität des „Livre dore“ zeugen seine zahlreichen französischen Ausgaben²⁾.

3. Lord Berners' „Golden Boke“ 1535.

A. Überlieferung.

Das Erscheinungsjahr der ältesten Ausgabe des „Golden Boke“ wird verschieden angegeben. Übrigens erfährt man gewöhnlich nicht, wo die Exemplare dieser Ausgabe einzusehen waren. 1534 als Erscheinungsjahr findet sich angegeben bei: Ames, I, 425; Lowndes, I, 54; Hazlitt, S. 246, hat die folgende Angabe aus einem Exemplar des G. B.: „[Col.] *Thus endeth the volume . . ., ended at Calais y tenth daie of Marche in the yere of the reigne of our soueraygne lorde Kyng Henry VIII. the xxiiii. Londini in aedibus Thomae Bertheleti. MDXXXIIII. 8^o B. L.*“; Lee, Euphuism, S. 49; Landmann, S. XVI f.: „*The earliest edition I have seen in the Brit. Mus. appeared 1534*“; Underhill, S. 375; Bond, S. 137; Hume, S. 56; Wilson, S. 22.

Nur Child (S. 26) gibt 1532 als Jahr der ersten Veröffentlichung des G.B. an. Übrigens hat Herbert 1534 ein-

¹⁾ Biographie Universelle, IV. 123.

²⁾ Außer der 4^o-Ausgabe von 1534 gibt es andere in Folio von 1535, in 8^o von 1537 und in 16^o (Biographie Universelle, IV. 123).

geklammert und diese Jahreszahl damit wahrscheinlich als zweifelhaft hinstellen wollen. — Landmann will die Ausgabe von 1534 im Brit. Mus. gesehen haben. Wo findet sich aber ein Exemplar der Ausgabe, deren „Colophon“ von Hazlitt abgeschrieben wurde und die Landmann sah? — Ich habe keine Ausgabe von 1534 finden können. Die älteste Ausgabe im Brit. Mus. wurde erst 1538 gedruckt, und daher kann die oben genannte Ausgabe, die Landmann gesehen haben will, nicht dem Brit. Mus. angehören. Vielleicht hat Landmann durch die Museumsverwaltung ein damals (1887) zur Althorp-Bibliothek des Earl Spencer gehörendes Exemplar des G.B. zu sehen bekommen. Dies Buch ist heute im Katalog der John Rylands Library zu Manchester in folgender Weise unter Aurelius Antoninus belegt: „*The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour and eloquent oratour. Translated by J. Bouchier, Knyghte, lorde Barners. 8.^{vo} Thomas Berthelet, London [1534]*“. Über dieses Buch erfuhr ich aus Manchester, daß die Jahreszahl ausradiert und 1534 handschriftlich an deren Stelle gesetzt worden ist. Unter der architektonischen Umrahmung des Titels findet sich nämlich die Zahl 1534, die sich allerdings auf das Jahr beziehen kann, in dem die Umrahmung gemacht wurde, weil damals solche Titelumrahmungen jahrelang in einer Druckerei beim Druck verschiedener Bücher gleichen Formats benutzt wurden. Da die Schlußbemerkung dieser Ausgabe zu den von Berthelet 1553 und 1559 gedruckten 8^o-Ausgaben stimmt, so ist anzunehmen, daß das Manchester-Exemplar eine dieser beiden Ausgaben vertritt. Wenn dieses Buch auf dem Titelblatt den handschriftlichen Vermerk „*W^m Herbert 1775*“ aufweist, so erklärt dies auch, warum der oben zitierte (mit diesem offenbar identische) Herbert „[1534]“ als Erscheinungsjahr angibt.

Die älteste mir bekannte Ausgabe (in 4^o) ist die von 1535 in der Bodleiana, wo auch ein Exemplar der Ausgabe von 1536 vorhanden ist. Diese beiden Exemplare

und die beiden ältesten von 1539 (1538 gedruckt) und 1542 des Brit. Mus. vertreten vier 4^o-Ausgaben, die von Thomas Berthelet in derselben Weise gedruckt worden sind. Die Größe und die ganze Anlage dieser Ausgaben stimmen mit der französischen von 1531 vollkommen überein; sie sind die ältesten mir bekannten Ausgaben. Ferner habe ich im Brit. Mus. Exemplare einer Reihe anderer Ausgaben in 8^o und in deutschen Buchstaben aus den Jahren 1553, 1557, 1559, 1566, 1573 und 1586 gesehen. Die von 1553 und 1559 sind bei Berthelet erschienen; die von 1557 hat A. Vele, die von 1566 und 1573 John Awdeley und die von 1586 Thomas East gedruckt. Die Ausgabe von 1535 enthält außer dem Titelblatt 344 bedruckte Seiten; die Buchstaben sind deutsch. Der Titel lautet:

THE GOLDEN
BOKE OF MARKVS AVRELIVS EMPEROVR
AND ELOQVENT ORATOVR
ANNO M. D. XXXV.

Auf dem nächsten Blatt beginnt das Inhaltsverzeichnis der 48 Kapitel und 19 Briefe (ganz mit dem Inhaltsverzeichnis der französischen Ausgabe von 1531 und der entsprechenden Antwerpener spanischen von 1529 übereinstimmend). Die Inhaltsangabe nimmt 4 ¹/₃ Seiten ein. Es folgt G.s Prolog auf weiteren 7 Seiten. Auf dem nächsten Blatt fängt das eigentliche Werk an, dessen Numerierung (167 Folios) auf der zweiten Seite beginnt. Unten auf der zweiten Seite von Folio 165 endet der letzte Brief; daran schließt sich folgende Bemerkung: „¶ *THVS ENDETH THE GOLDEN Boke of the eloquent Marc Aurelie emperor: . . . Certainly as great prayse as oughte to be gyuen to the auctour, is to be gyuen to the tranſlatours, that haue laboriouſly reduced this treatyſe oute of Greke into Latin, and out of Latin into Caſtilian, and out of Caſtilian into frenche, and out of frenche into engliſhe, written in high and ſwete ſtyles . . .*“

Diese das ganze Werk betreffende Anmerkung rührt nicht von Bern. her, wie Landmann behauptet, oder von Sir Francis Bryan, wie Sidney Lee (Athenaeum No. 2907, S. 49) als möglich annimmt, sondern, wie vorher gezeigt wurde, von dem Herausgeber einer der ersten drei unerlaubten Ausgaben des L.A., nach der die spanischen Antwerpener und Pariser Ausgaben von 1529 gedruckt wurden. Sie lautet im spanischen Original: „*AQui haze fin el libro aureo del eloquentissimo Marco Aurelio emperador, . . . Pero por cierto no se le deve menos al autor que con grandes trabajos & vigilijs traduziendolo del Griego en latin: y del latin en castellano por tan alto y dulce estilo lo escriuio . . .*“ Ein Vergleich der beiden oben gegebenen Stellen ergibt, daß die Dankesworte an den Verfasser, welche zuerst im Original begegnen, späterhin durch eine Hinzufügung auf Bert. und Bern. ausgedehnt wurden. — Die letzte Druckseite des Buches enthält die häufig zitierte Bemerkung des Druckers: „*Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie emperour otherwise called the golden boke, translated out of Frenche into englyshe by John Bouchier knyghte | lorde Barners, deputie generall of the Kynges | towne of Caleys and marches of the same, | at the instant desyre of his neuewe syr | Francis Bryan knyghte, ended*

*at Caleys the teneth day of
Marche, in the yere
of the reygne
of oure
Soueraygne lorde Kynge
Henry the VIII.
the XXIII.“*

Wir ersehen übrigens hieraus, wie auch aus den entsprechenden Anmerkungen der folgenden Quarto-Ausgaben von 1536, 1539 und 1542, daß die Übersetzung des Werkes am 10. März 1532 zu Calais beendet wurde, während in den vorhin genannten Oktavo-Ausgaben bemerkt wird: „*endea*

at Calais the tenth day of Marche, in the yere of the reygne of oure fouerayn lorde Kyng HENRY the VIII. the XXIIII“ (d. h. 1533). Anscheinend irrtümlich wird hier die Beendigung der Übersetzung auf den 10. März 1533 verlegt. Es wäre zwar auch möglich, daß eine beabsichtigte Korrektur vorliegt, da aber die vier ältesten mir bekannten Ausgaben von 1535, 1536, 1539 und 1542 (von Berthelet gedruckt) in der Angabe: „*in the yere . . of . . Kyng Henry the VIII the XXIII*“ übereinstimmen, ist nicht anzunehmen, daß man erst 1553 ein so wichtiges Datum bewußt geändert habe. Ich halte vielmehr daran fest, daß die Übersetzung des „*Livre dore*“ am 10. März 1532 beendet worden ist. Das „*ended at Caleys*“ bezieht sich jedenfalls auf das Übersetzen. Auf das Drucken bezieht sich dagegen die folgende Schlußanmerkung:

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THO-
MAE BERTHLETI RE
GII IMPRESSORIS
CVM PRIVILEGIO A RE
GE INDVLTO.

Hazlitts oben zitierte Angabe stimmt mit dem Schluß der Anmerkung des Herausgebers und mit dem Anfang der Schlußbemerkung (des Druckers) in Berthelets Ausgaben überein. Unmittelbar darauf folgt in Hazlitts Angabe: „*MDXXXIII. 8^o B. Q.*“, das sich wahrscheinlich, wie Landmanns Angabe, auf das irreführende Datum des Manchester-Exemplars bezieht. Auf Herbert, Hazlitt oder Landmann fußen in diesem Punkt die Angaben aller übrigen Forscher. — Ich will hier noch die Jahreszahlen der Ausgaben beifügen, die mir nicht zu Gesicht gekommen sind: 1546, 1554, 1556, 1576, 1584, 1587 (nach Underhill bei Lowndes).

Die beträchtliche Zahl der Ausgaben des G.B. bedeutet für die damalige Zeit einen ungewöhnlichen Erfolg, den freilich Lord Berners nicht mehr erlebte, denn er starb bereits am 16. März 1533 oder in den Tagen vorher zu Calais¹⁾.

¹⁾ Vgl. Lee in E.E.T.S., LX, S. XLVI, Anm. 2.;

B. Veranlassung zur Übersetzung.

Als Bertauts „Livre dore“ erschien, gab es am englischen Hofe einen vornehmen Kreis, der sich um Katharina von Aragonien gebildet hatte und der unmittelbare Beziehungen zu den höfischen Kreisen Spaniens unterhielt. Zu ihm gehörte die Familie von John Bourchier, Lord Berners (1467—1533)¹).

Berners war ein tüchtiger Soldat und Diplomat, der Heinrich VIII. sehr nahe stand²). 1518 wurde er von Wolsey in einer Sondermission nach Spanien geschickt, um dort ein Bündnis zwischen Karl von Spanien und Heinrich VIII. zustande zu bringen. Die Verhandlungen dauerten von April bis Dezember 1518. Berners blieb bis Januar 1519 in Madrid und wird, trotz seiner Krankheit, höchst wahrscheinlich mit dem schon dorthin berufenen Hofprediger Guevara in Berührung gekommen sein. Es ist anzunehmen, daß Berners während dieses Aufenthaltes genug Spanisch lernte, um später beim Übersetzen von Berts „Livre dore“ das Original zum Vergleiche heranziehen zu können. 1519 stand Berners auf der Höhe seines Rufes; aber Krankheit und Schulden führten rasch zu einem großen Wendepunkt in seinem tätigen Leben. Dezember 1520 wurde er Gouverneur (*deputy*) von Calais, wo er bis zu seinem Ableben blieb³).

Die Übersetzung des „Livre dore“ machte Bern. auf Anregung seines Neffen Sir Francis Bryan⁴). Sie wurde unter dem Namen: „The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius“ am 10. März 1532 fertig gestellt. Bryan war ein Günstling Heinrichs VIII. und, wie sein Freund der Dichter Wyatt, gehörte er der spanischen Richtung am Hofe an. Bryan war in seiner Lyrik Petrarkist; es läßt sich also

¹) Vgl. Underhill, S. 70 ff.

²) Über Berners' Leben vgl. Lee in E.E.T.S., XL.

³) Bern. starb am 16. März 1533: Lee, Huon S. XLII u. XLVI, Anm. 2.

⁴) GB., Schlußbemerkung des Druckers.

verstehen, daß er für die von Petrarca herrührende stoisch-moralisierende Literaturgattung das genügende Interesse haben konnte, um Veranlasser der Übersetzung des „*Livre dore*“ zu werden.

Bern.s G.B. ist auch ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Entwicklung des englischen Romans und der englischen Prosa; es bezeichnet zugleich den ersten bedeutenden Einfluß der spanischen Literatur auf die englische.

C. Aufnahmeverbedingungen in England.

Boethiusübersetzungen.

Ansätze zu den philosophisch-soziologischen Gedanken, die in England den Boden für die Aufnahme des G.B. vorbereiteten, sind schon in König Alfreds *Boëthiusübersetzung*, also schon im 9. Jhdt. vorhanden.

Die Philosophie ermahnt den Boëthius im Unglück zur Selbstbeherrschung¹⁾ und zur Selbsterkenntnis²⁾, beide im stoischen Sinne: so wird er all das Gute finden, das er in der äußeren Welt vergeblich sucht³⁾. Stoisch ist die Betonung der Vergänglichkeit des Glücks⁴⁾ und des Ruhmes⁵⁾. Das Glück und (im echt Sokratischen und stoischen Sinne) die Tugend werden aus der Weisheit hergeleitet⁶⁾. — Man soll also der Tugend und nicht dem Ruhm nachjagen⁷⁾. Der Glückliche, also der Weise, ist ein Gott⁸⁾. Die Menge da-

¹⁾ King Alfred's ags. version of Boëthius *De consolatione philosophiae*, ed. S. Fox, Lond. 1895. Kap. XXIX (102). — Boët. lib. III, pr. 5.

²⁾ Alfred, K. V (8). — Boët. lib. I, pr. 5.

³⁾ Alfred, K. XXXV (154). — Boët. lib. III, met. 11.

⁴⁾ Alfred, K. VII (11). — XIV (40). — Boët. lib. II, pr. 5.

⁵⁾ Alfred, K. XVIII (60). — Boët. lib. II, pr. 7.

⁶⁾ Alfred, K. XI (30). — Boët. lib. II, pr. 4 und Alfred, K. XXVII (94). — Boët. lib. III, pr. 4.

⁷⁾ Alfred, K. XVIII (60). — Boët. lib. II, pr. 7.

⁸⁾ Alfred, K. XXXIV (134). — Boët. lib. III, pr. 10.

gegen ist töricht¹⁾. Sie wird daher von der Philosophie verachtet²⁾.

Dieser Stoizismus wird durch die christliche Demut³⁾ und das Vertrauen auf die Liebe Gottes⁴⁾ gemildert. Er stammt aus der römischen Stoa⁵⁾ und erinnert besonders an die mildere Lehre des Epiktet und des M.A., wie denn auch alle oben genannten stoischen Hauptbegriffe in G.s M.A. wiederkehren. Durch mancherlei Hinzufügungen und viele Umgestaltungen entfernt sich Alfred allerdings sehr vom Original.

Geoffrey Chaucer (1340—1400) ließ sich in Italien als Dichter von Dante und Petrarca beeinflussen. Petrarca (1304—74), den Chaucer zu Padua getroffen haben mag⁶⁾, war damals ferner der Führer der italienischen Moral-Philosophie. Wenn Chaucer nach seiner italienischen Reise eine Wendung zu philosophischem Denken zeigt, so ist dies auf den Einfluß des italienischen Rationalismus zurückzuführen, der Chaucer den Anstoß gab zu seiner Übersetzung der „*Consolationes philosophiae*“ des Boëthius. Hier erscheinen die philosophischen Gedanken des Boëthius nicht wie bei Alfred mit christlichen Vorstellungen vermischt, sondern durch größere Genauigkeit der Übersetzung in ihrer ursprünglichen Beschaffenheit. Namentlich der Grundgedanke des Werkes: *Die Vernunft siegt über die Affekte*, wie Pláto und die Stoa lehrten⁷⁾, kommt jetzt zu vollerer Geltung.

¹⁾ Alfred, K. XXX (106). — Boët. lib. III, pr. 6.

²⁾ Alfred, K. XXXVIII (194). — Boët. lib. IV, met. 3.

³⁾ Alfred, K. II (4). — Boët. lib. I, met. 1.

⁴⁾ Alfred, K. XXXIX (210). — Boët. lib. IV, met. 4.

⁵⁾ Alfred, K. XXIX (68). — Boët. lib. II, met. 7: Über den Tod des Seneca.

⁶⁾ Chaucer, Clerk of Oxford's Tale-Prologue, Globe Edition 1903, S. 186.

⁷⁾ Vgl. Ueberweg-Heinze, Bd. I (1903), S. 397.

Fürstenspiegel.

Alfred bezweckte mit Boëthius wie mit seinen anderen Werken hauptsächlich die Bildung des Adels. Ähnliche soziologische Bestrebungen verfolgte der um 1165 verfaßte „Policraticus“ des Johann von Salisbury († 1180)¹⁾. Schon hier findet sich in England das Soziologische — zum ersten Male — nach Art der Fürstenspiegel dargestellt. Auch im „Policraticus“ werden, wie in den späteren Fürstenspiegeln, gute Fürsten und Tyrannen zu einander in Gegensatz gebracht²⁾. — Der Fürst soll die Gesetze befolgen und nach dem Willen des Volkes regieren³⁾. Keusch, nicht habgierig⁴⁾, gemäßigt, gerecht und gnädig soll er sein⁵⁾. — Es wird von der Wahl eines Fürsten, von seinen Rechten, von der Weise wie seine Tugend gelohnt wird und von seinen Fehlern gehandelt. Der tugendhafte Hiob wird ihm als Muster vorgehalten⁶⁾. Es wird ferner gezeigt, wie die Sitten des Fürsten auf die Untertanen vorteilhaft oder nachteilig wirken können⁷⁾. Die Folgen von Caligulas und Neros Sittenverderbnis werden dargestellt⁸⁾. Ebenda wird der Unterschied zwischen einem Fürsten und einem Tyrannen wiederum in folgendem Satze gekennzeichnet: „*Princeps pugnāt pro legibus et populi libertate: tyrannus nihil actum putat, nisi leges evacuet, et populum devocet in servitutem*“⁹⁾.

Giraldus Cambrensis (1147—1218) schrieb seinen „Liber de principis instructione“, um Fürsten und Prälaten einen Spiegel der Lebensführung zu geben. Ein Fürst

¹⁾ Vgl. ten Brink, I, 229.

²⁾ Johannis Saresberiensis, III, 219 ff.

³⁾ *ibid.*, S. 219: „(principis) . . . hic legi obtemperat, et ejus arbitrio populum regit, cujus se credit ministrum.“

⁴⁾ *ibid.*, III, 230.

⁵⁾ *ibid.*, III, 244.

⁶⁾ *ibid.*, III, 277.

⁷⁾ *ibid.*, III, 285.

⁸⁾ *ibid.*, II.

⁹⁾ *ibid.*, II, 308.

soll folgende Eigenschaften besitzen: sittliche Schönheit, Milde, Schamhaftigkeit, Keuschheit, Geduld, Mäßigkeit, Freigebigkeit, hehren Sinn, Gerechtigkeit, Klugheit, Vorsicht, Bescheidenheit, Mut, Adel¹⁾. G. C. setzt den Unterschied zwischen einem Könige und einem Tyrannen auseinander und weist namentlich auf das blutige Ende der Tyrannen und das lobenswerte Ende guter Fürsten hin. Der Fürst soll vor allem Gott fürchten und lieben²⁾. — G. C. griff zur Bibel und zur alten Geschichte, um durch Beispiele seinen Lehren Nachdruck zu verleihen. So wird Christus als Muster der Geduld, der Gerechtigkeit und der Bescheidenheit vorgeführt. Caesar wird von G. C. als Muster eines mutigen, Antoninus Pius als Muster eines guten und Nero³⁾ als Muster eines tyrannischen Fürsten hingestellt. G. C. hebt ferner hervor, daß das Wissen für die Fürsten nützlich sei⁴⁾ und daß die größten Fürsten sich auch der Literatur gewidmet hätten. G. C. ist in seinem Gedankengange außer durch Plato insbesondere durch die Stoiker Seneca und Cicero⁵⁾ beeinflusst worden. Eine weitere Quelle des G. C. (wie später angeblich des G.) ist Eutropius.

Thomas Hoccleve (1368[9]—1450?), ein Schüler Chaucers, schrieb gegen 1413 sein Werk „The Regement of Princes“ in der Hoffnung, durch den Prinzen, den späteren Heinrich V., aus seiner Geldnot befreit zu werden. In der ersten Hälfte des Werkes bis zum eigentlichen Regement⁶⁾ klagt Hoccleve über seine Armut und wird von einem philosophierenden Bettler, wie Boëthius von der Philosophie, getröstet, indem jener dem H. vor allem die Nachteile des Reichtums und die Vorteile der Armut vor Augen führt⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Giraldus Cambrensis: Liber de principis instructione: K. 1—15.

²⁾ *ibid.*, K. 16—18, 21.

³⁾ *ibid.*, K. 5, 10, 12, 14, 18, 16.

⁴⁾ *ibid.*, K. 11.

⁵⁾ G. C., L. d. p. i., K. 10.

⁶⁾ E. E. T. S., LXXII, Str. 289.

⁷⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 156—8.

Ein König solle eidestreu¹⁾ und gerecht²⁾ sein; großherzig³⁾, freigebig⁴⁾, geliebt und gefürchtet von seinem Volke solle er sein⁵⁾. Die Alten und Weisen solle er zu Rate ziehen⁶⁾ und den Frieden, den Gott liebt, erhalten⁷⁾. Am Schluß ruft H. den christlichen Fürsten zu, sie sollten den Frieden zu erhalten trachten⁸⁾.

Desiderius Erasmus Roterdamus (1467—1536). — Für die Humanisten galt es als eine der Hauptaufgaben, das Christliche mit dem Heidnischen zu versöhnen. Dieses Bestreben tritt überall deutlich hervor, so in den Werken des Erasmus und besonders in der „*Institutio principis Christiani*“ (1516), dem römischen Könige Karl, dem späteren Karl V., gewidmet. — Der erste Fürst wurde wegen seiner Tugend zum Herrscher gewählt. Der Fürst soll von tugendhafter, ruhiger und standhafter Gesinnung sein. Die Laster, zu denen er seiner Natur nach neigt, sollten ehrenwerte Männer durch Erziehung zur Tugend beseitigen. Durch Märchen und Sprüche sollte er zur Tugend erzogen, wacker und fleissig sollte er werden. Vor allem sollte man ihn über Christus belehren. Durch gute Beispiele sollte man ihn zum höchsten Gut, zur Frömmigkeit, führen. — Die Gesinnung macht einen Fürsten, nicht sein Reichthum. Ein christlicher Fürst sollte gerecht und geliebt sein. — Auf der Vernunft soll die Weisheit eines Fürsten beruhen. — Das vorbildliche Leben eines Fürsten vermag die Sitten seines Volkes zu bessern. — Ein Fürst soll Schmeichler meiden. — Salomos Sprüche und Buch der Weisheit, das Evangelium, Plutarchs *Moralia*, Senecas *Moralschriften*, Aristoteles' *Politica* und Ciceros *De officiis* sollte man ihm zur Lektüre geben. — Nach Aristoteles führen Haß und Verachtung die Zersetzung eines Reiches herbei. Gegen den Haß soll man Gutwilligkeit, gegen Verachtung Tapferkeit und Würde ins Feld führen. — Die Bestrebungen eines Fürsten sollten allen

¹⁾ E.E.T.S., LXXII, Str. 318 ff. ²⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 360. ³⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 558. ⁴⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 590. ⁵⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 689 f. ⁶⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 706—8. ⁷⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 744 ff. ⁸⁾ *ibid.*, Str. 774 ff.

Bürgern von Nutzen sein. — Ein frommer und weiser Fürst ist ein lebendiges Gesetz. — Die verkehrten Meinungen des schlechten und gemeinen Volkes sind die Ursache vieler Laster. — Die Beamten sollen nicht durch Bestechung ihre Ämter erlangen, sondern durch Frömmigkeit und die Erfahrung des Alters. — Bündnisse darf ein Fürst nur zum Wohle der Gesamtheit schließen. — Man soll mit seinen Nachbarn in Frieden leben. — Der Fürst muß ein sittliches Eheleben führen. Seine Frau soll gehorsam und fromm sein. Geschlechtliche Ausschweifungen der Fürsten führen zu Aufruhr und Krieg. — Der Fürst hat die Gesetze zu verbessern. — Die vorbildliche Weisheit frommer Fürsten, die Redlichkeit frommer Beamten, das ehrenhafte und fromme Leben der Priester sowie die guten Lehren der Schulmeister können das niedere Volk heben. — Bevor ein Fürst in den Krieg zieht, soll er die Vorteile des Friedens und die Nachteile, die er durch den Krieg vielen Unschuldigen zufügt, genau abwägen. — Die Prediger haben die Begierde im Volke auszurotten. — Alle Fürsten sollen auf die Erhaltung des Friedens bedacht sein, und alle Nationen als Christen in Frieden leben.

Sir Thomas Elyots (1495?–1546) „Governour“ (1531) will hauptsächlich ein Wegweiser sein, um künftige Staatsmänner zu einer tugendhaften Lebensführung und dadurch zum Wohle des Staates zu erziehen¹⁾. Vom Staatsmann geht Elyot über zum Herrscher, so daß sein Buch eine breitere Art des Fürstenspiegels darstellt. — Nur ein Herrscher sollte den Staat regieren. — Die Erziehung der künftigen Staatsmänner, sowie die Anordnung ihres Unterrichts wird eingehend behandelt. Mit großer Sorgfalt sollten die Erzieher ausgewählt werden. — Ein junger Herrscher sollte zu seinem Nutzen und Vergnügen körperliche Übungen anstellen. Selbst das Tanzen kann ihm dazu dienen, die Besonnenheit, die erste der Tugenden, sich anzueignen. Vor-

¹⁾ Governour II (Schluß).

sicht, Fleiß, Umsicht, Erfahrung und Bescheidenheit sollen einen Fürsten auszeichnen. Ein Herrscher sollte vor allem „*lerne wisdom and fall nat*“¹⁾. Die Majestät seiner Person soll bestehen in „*a beaultie or comelynesse in his countenance, langage and gesture apt to his dignitie, and accomodate to time, place, and company*“²⁾. Vor Stolz soll diese Majestät durch edle Gesinnung bewahrt werden. Liebenswürdig und barmherzig, gütig und freigebig soll ein Fürst sein. — Die Freundschaft wird gepriesen, die Undankbarkeit verdammt. — Gerechtigkeit soll Freunden und Feinden gegenüber geübt werden. Treue, Beständigkeit, Geduld und Edelmuth werden gelobt, dagegen werden die Nachteile der Hartnäckigkeit und des Ehrgeizes hervorgehoben. Es wird erklärt, was Enthaltksamkeit wirklich bedeute, daß Mäßigung nur ein Teil derselben sei. Die Weisheit definiert Elyot nach Cicero als „*the science of things diuine and humane, which considereth the cause of euery thing, by reason wherof that which is diuine she foloweth, that which is humane she esteemith ferre vnder the goodness of vertue*“³⁾. — Erfahrung ist für einen Herrscher unbedingt notwendig. — Wie man aus Ratschlägen Vorteil ziehen könne, wird ferner erörtert.

Die oben gegebene Gedankenfolge zeigt die soziologischen Ziele des „*Governour*“, die nach Elyot nur durch eine sittliche Lebensführung erreichbar sind. Zu letzterer führt allein eine gute Erziehung. Ein wesentlicher Teil dieser Erziehung besteht in der Anleitung zum Studium von Werken wie Xenophons „*Kyrupaedie*“⁴⁾, Ciceros „*De Officiis*“, der Ethik des Aristoteles, Platos Schriften (vor allem!), Salomos Sprüchen und Erasmus' „*Institutio*“, die sehr empfohlen wird¹⁾. Von anderen Weisen auf dem Gebiete der Lebensführung werden Socrates⁵⁾, Seneca⁶⁾,

¹⁾ *Governour*, II. 4.

²⁾ „ II. 12.

³⁾ „ II. 351.

⁴⁾ „ I. 84—95.

⁵⁾ „ III.

⁶⁾ „ I. 74 — II. 161 — III. 260.

Plutarch¹⁾ und Mark Aurel genannt. Von letzterem sagt Elyot: „*Marcus Antoninus, which . . . was commended for his vertue and sapience*“²⁾. — „*It was no rebuke, but for an excellent honour, that the emperour Antoine*“³⁾ was surnamed the philosopher, for by his moste noble example of lyuing, and industrie incomparable, he during all the tyme of his reigne kept the publike weale of the Romanes in such perfecte astute, that by his actes he confirmed the sayeng of Plato, That blessed is that publike weale wherin either philosophers do reigne, or else kinges be in philosophie studiouse“⁴⁾. Antoninus Pius und M.A. sollen stets weise Philosophen um sich gehabt haben⁵⁾. Elyot erzählt auch von M.A., daß er den ehrenhaftesten Männern Roms befohlen habe, ihm mitzuteilen, was das Volk von ihm sage, und wenn etwas der Verbesserung bedürftig gewesen sei, so habe er es von selbst verbessert. Dadurch besserte er auch seine Diener⁶⁾. — Nach Elyot soll Herodian von der großen Liebenswürdigkeit des M.A. berichtet haben⁷⁾. Die Wertschätzung des M.A. durch Elyot als eines Musterfürsten, der Platos Ideal erfüllte, ist ein wichtiges Moment im Gedankengange eines Platonikers wie Elyot. Dasselbe Moment gab Guevara den Anstoß dazu, die Herrschergestalt seines M.A. zu schaffen.

Staatsspiegel.

Sir Thomas More (1478—1535). — Das zweite und wichtigste Buch der „Utopia“ wurde von More 1505 in Antwerpen geschrieben, als er noch zur englischen Gesandtschaft gehörte, die zu Brügge mit den Vertretern Karls von

¹⁾ Gouverneur, II. 179 — III. 260.

²⁾ „ I. 52.

³⁾ „ I. 103, Anm. b.

⁴⁾ „ I. 103—104.

⁵⁾ „ II. 8.

⁶⁾ „ II. 45.

⁷⁾ „ II. 53.

Kastilien verhandelte¹⁾. Als More Ende 1515 nach England zurückkehrte, schuf er seinen stoischen Hythlodäus, den er mit den Worten: „Er begehrte weder Reichtümer noch Macht“, charakterisiert²⁾. Hythlodäus will also innerlich und äußerlich frei bleiben³⁾. Ihm legt More eine Kritik der hauptsächlich sozialen Übel seiner Zeit in den Mund, indem er zuerst die Ungerechtigkeit der Verwaltungsbeamten angreift⁴⁾. Die Mißstände Englands führt er zurück auf die Faulheit des Adels und der Geistlichkeit und insbesondere derjenigen, die Grundbesitz haben und, um ihre kostspieligen Haushaltungen und faulen Diener zu unterhalten, das Ackerland in Schafland verwandeln, Städte und Dörfer ruinierend und den Bauern ihren Lebensunterhalt entreißend. Er ruft aus: „*Let not so manye be brought up in ydleness; lett husbandrye and tyllage be restored agayne*“⁵⁾. Dem Staate wie er ist und wie er nicht sein sollte stellt More in seiner Utopia einen platonischen Idealstaat gegenüber. Die Utopier, wie auch Hythlodäus, verachten in stoischer Weise den materiellen Besitz an sich⁶⁾. Der stoische Grundsatz, „ein Leben im Einklang mit der Natur zu führen“, kehrt auch in der utopischen Ethik wieder. Derjenige folgt der Natur, der von der Vernunft geleitet wird⁷⁾. Das Hauptziel der Utopier besteht in der Erreichung eines Glückes, das auf edlem Genuß beruht⁸⁾. Der epikureische Genuß wird hier also, damit er zum platonischen Glück führe, vom stoischen Guten begrenzt. Diese Lebensauffassung wird vervollständigt durch den religiösen Begriff der göttlichen

¹⁾ Utopia ed. Collins, S. XVf.

²⁾ Utopia ed. Lupton, S. 37.

³⁾ Vgl. Utopia ed. Lupton, S. 36f.

⁴⁾ Utopia ed. Lupton, S. 44.

⁵⁾ Utopia ed. Lupton, S. 58.

⁶⁾ Vgl. Utopia ed. L., S. 175ff.

⁷⁾ Vgl. Utopia ed. L., S. 190, Anm. 1.

⁸⁾ Utopia ed. L., S. 190: „*they thinke not felicitie to reste in ail pleasure, but onlye in that pleasure that is good and honest*“.

Schickung des Menschen¹⁾, welcher die utopische Weltanschauung dualistisch gestaltet. — Im letzten Grunde ist die Vernunft die Macht, welche die utopische Lebensführung zum höchsten Ziele führt: Utopia wird, der vernunftlosen Wirklichkeit gegenüber, als Musterbild eines Vernunftstaates hingestellt.

Mores Werk als ein auf die Vernunft gegründeter Staatspiegel und das „Golden Boke“ als ein auf die Weisheit gegründeter Fürstenspiegel haben beide das Wohl der Gesamtheit als soziologisches Ziel gemeinsam. Dieses Ziel wird deutlicher in der Utopia durch die Gegenüberstellung des vernünftigen Staatswesens und der unvernünftigen Wirklichkeit, im „Golden Boke“ durch den Gegensatz des weisen Herrschers und seiner unwissenden Umgebung.

Spiegel der Lebensführung.

Giovanni Francesco Picos (1498) lateinisch geschriebenes Leben seines Onkels, des Grafen Giovanni Pico, erschien 1510 in einer englischen Übersetzung von More als „Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandula, a great Lord of Italy, an excellent, cunning man in all sciences, and vertuous of living, with divers Epistels and other workes, of the said John Picus“. More wurde zu dieser Übersetzung, der ersten Biographie in englischer Sprache, durch seine geistige Verwandtschaft mit Pico angeregt. Es heißt von Pico: „*he was to all of them ¹/_y aspire to honour a very spectacle*“²⁾. P. war von edler Herkunft³⁾, noch bartlos „*a periphite philosophre and a perfyte devyne*“⁴⁾. Es wird dem P. verboten, in Rom über seine 900 Thesen zu sprechen⁵⁾, und als auch ihre Lektüre verboten wird, will P. selbst, daß sie nicht gelesen

¹⁾ Vgl. Utopia ed. L., S. 190.

²⁾ Mores Pico, S. 6.

³⁾ idem, S. 6 u. 7.

⁴⁾ idem, S. 9.

⁵⁾ idem, S. 9.

werden¹⁾. P.'s Tugend macht ihn berühmt: Philosophen besuchen ihn und hören seine Lehren gern, weil er aus eigener Kraft das Laster verlassen hatte²⁾. Von neueren Gelehrten schätzt P. den Thomas „*as hym y enforceth hym selfe in a sure piller of truth*“³⁾. P. nimmt eine Einladung des Herzogs von Ferrara zu einer Disputation ungern an, indem er sagt, Disputationen seien nur in einer kleinen gelehrten Gesellschaft von Nutzen und nicht „*to th'ostentacion of lernynge & to wynne the favoure of the commune people & the commendacyon of fooles*“. P. verdankt seine große Gelehrsamkeit einer hervorragenden geistigen Begabung, unermüdlichem Fleiße und der Verachtung alles Irdischen⁴⁾. P. ist selbstlos. Seine persönlichen Bedürfnisse sind gering. Er betet täglich⁵⁾ und „*scourged himself in days representing passion of Christ*“⁶⁾. — P. ist immer heiter: Das Unglück macht ihn nicht niedergeschlagen, im Glück ist er nie stolz⁷⁾. Irdischer Reichtum, Ehre und Ruhm sind ihm nichtig. Er will sich in Ruhe nur dem Studium und dem Dienste Gottes widmen⁸⁾. Er schätzt seine Gelehrsamkeit nur „*in how moche he knewe that hit was profitable to y chyrche & to y extermynation of errours*“. Ein kluger Mann wird von den Worten P.'s so durchdrungen, daß er seine Laster verläßt und sich bessert. — P. wird durch seine Anlage und durch sein Studium der Philosophie dazu geführt, die Freiheit über alles zu lieben. Er haßt daher die Ehe⁹⁾.

More und Pico waren Vernunftasketen, und darin ist Pico Mores Vorbild gewesen. More unterscheidet sich aber von jenem durch den gemäßigten epikureischen Zug seines Lebens. Picos Philosophie ist neuplatonisch und stoisch. Stoisch ist seine Verachtung des Ruhmes und der

¹⁾ Mores Pico, S. 11. ²⁾ idem, S. 12—13. ³⁾ idem, S. 14.

⁴⁾ idem, S. 16. ⁵⁾ idem, S. 17. ⁶⁾ idem, S. 17. ⁷⁾ idem, S. 16

⁸⁾ idem, S. 19. ⁹⁾ idem, S. 22.

materiellen Güter¹⁾, vor allem aber die auf der Tugend beruhende Kraft²⁾, die ihn seine Leidenschaften unterdrücken³⁾ läßt und zur heiteren Seelenruhe⁴⁾ des stoischen Weisen erhebt. Die stoische Weisheit führt Pico wie More und G.s M.A.⁵⁾ zur stoischen Scheidung der Menschen in Weise und Toren, die alle drei als Geistesaristokraten auf die unwissende Menge mit Verachtung blicken läßt.

Als im Erscheinungsjahr des „Gouverneur“ G.s L.A. durch sein Auftauchen in Paris als „Livre d'ore“ England näher kam, war also, wie eben gezeigt wurde, der Boden für eine verständnisvolle Aufnahme des G.B. völlig vorbereitet. Die stoische Philosophie der Lebensführung, die den Kern des G.B. bildet, war in England zutage getreten in den Übersetzungen des Boëthius, in den Fürstenspiegeln wie auch in Mores Staatsspiegel und in seiner Übersetzung von Picos Biographie, die, wie gezeigt, wesentlich ein Spiegel der Lebensführung ist. Gemeinsam ist dem G.B. und den Werken des Erasmus, More und Elyot auch ein (mit der stoischen Philosophie eng zusammenhängender) platonischer Einschlag. Die Tatsache, daß G. gerade denjenigen Kaiser als Musterfürsten wählte, der in seiner Person wie kein anderer Platos Ideal der Könige-Philosophen erfüllt hatte, deutet schon auf Beeinflussung durch Plato, den er 1529 den Fürsten aller Philosophen nennt⁶⁾.

Das „Golden Bock“ unterscheidet sich aber von den oben besprochenen Werken durch das Fehlen christlicher Elemente. Dies bedeutet einen künstlerischen Gewinn insofern, als das Werk dadurch einheitlicher wird. Diese Einheit wird aber vor allem durch die erfundene Biographie des M.A. zustande gebracht, der in England nur Mores Biographien von Pico und Richard III. vorangehen.

¹⁾ Mores Pico, S. 11, 16. ²⁾ idem, S. 22. ³⁾ idem, S. 13.

⁴⁾ idem, S. 18. ⁵⁾ G.B. XII. 54f.

⁶⁾ Dial (Schluß), Br. an die verliebten Römerinnen.

D. Inhalt des „Golden Boke“¹⁾.

Prolog. Die Wahrheit siegt über alles Zeitliche. — Homer hat die Wißbegierde der Philosophen gelobt; später ist jedoch ihre Unwissenheit die Ursache der Zersplitterung der Wissenschaften gewesen. Wenn sie aber jetzt lebten, würden sie immer noch mehr wissen als wir. — Zu keiner Zeit hat man die Tugend so viel gelehrt und so wenig ihr gemäß gelebt, wie jetzt. — Das Verdienst des Erzählers großer Taten ist ebenso groß, wie das desjenigen, der sie vollbrachte. — Alle Schriften sind der Vervollkommnung fähig, ausgenommen die Heilige Schrift. — Der L.A. von Männern, die M. A. kannten, geschrieben; Hs. desselben angeblich von G. in Florenz gefunden und von G. Satz für Satz übersetzt. — Solche tiefen Sentenzen und solch hoher Stil nirgends vor dem L.A. zu finden.

Kap. 1, Fol. 1. M.A.s Eltern beide aus vornehmem Geschlecht. Sein Vater wahrheitsliebend, ein tüchtiger Krieger. — **K. 2, Fol. 2.** M.A. vom Vater zum Studium der Wissenschaften, besonders der Philosophie angehalten. Kein Römer durfte ohne Beruf sein. Ehrenwerte Priester, keusche Vestalinnen, gerechte Richter, tapfere Heerführer und tugendhafte Lehrer in Rom am höchsten geschätzt. — **K. 3, Fol. 4.** Die Lehrer halten M.A. durch Beschäftigung vom Laster fern. — Philosoph aus Theben erwähnt, der sich selbst alles anfertigte. — Wir sind zum Guten ebenso wie zum Bösen fähig. — M.A. erzählt seinen Studiengang. — M.A. mäßig und klug. — **K. 4, Fol. 7.** Des Fürsten Lebensart pflegt vom Volke nachgeahmt zu werden. Dieses soll seinen ehrenhaften Befehlen, nicht aber seinem schlechten Lebenswandel folgen. — M.A. ein Gönner der Weisen. — **K. 5, Fol. 8.** M.A. hat zwei Söhne: Commodus, der ältere, ist schlecht, Verissimus, der jüngere, ist schön und gut. V.s

¹⁾ Diesem sowie den beiden folgenden Abschnitten ist die älteste im Brit. Mus. vorhandene Ausgabe des G.B. (von 1539) zu Grunde gelegt.

Tod ein großer Kummer für M.A. und für Rom. M.A. trägt jedoch alles Leid mit Ergebung. — **K. 6, Fol. 9.** M.A. wählt 14 der besten und weisesten Männer Italiens als Lehrer des Commodus aus und beobachtet ihr Tun. — **K. 7, Fol. 10.** Fünf der Lehrer, welche bei einer Feier zu laut jubeln, werden von M.A. entlassen, denn: gefährlich ist das schlechte Beispiel der Weisen; nur so lange kann Rom groß bleiben, als Einfalt im Reden und Ernst im Handeln darin herrschen. — **K. 8, Fol. 12.** M.A. sagt den neun Lehrern, welche geblieben sind, er habe sie geprüft, um sie als Freunde zu haben. Faustina habe den Commodus zwei Jahre lang spielen lassen. Die Frauen mit ihrem Leichtsinn dächten nur an die Gegenwart, während weise Männer Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft im Auge hätten. Die Lehrer sollen aus dem Commodus einen Weisen, einen Gott, machen. — Die Fürsten sollen diejenigen, denen sie die Erziehung ihrer Kinder anvertrauen, sorgfältig prüfen. Es besteht ein großer Unterschied zwischen der Erziehung von Fürstenkindern und von solchen des Volkes. C. soll lernen, richtig zu handeln, nicht leere Worte zu reden. — **K. 9, Fol. 14.** Dadurch soll C. wahrheitsliebend, ernst, mäßig und mannhaft werden. Er soll weder spielen, noch sinnlich sein. Das erfolgreichste Erziehungsmittel besteht im guten Beispiel. — **K. 10, Fol. 17.** M.A. hat vier Töchter. Er läßt diese von ihrer Geburt an bis zu ihrer Vermählung fern vom Elternhause erziehen, damit sie in Einfachheit aufwachsen und nicht im Palast von der Mutter verwöhnt werden. — **K. 11, Fol. 19.** M.A. übertrifft alle Männer an Tugend. Er wählt sich gute Senatoren zu Schwiegersöhnen. Seine Töchter jedoch sind schlecht. — Der Weise soll nicht alles nach seiner eigenen oder alles nach der Meinung anderer tun. — M.A. überlegt lange, ehe er über eine Heirat entscheidet. — **K. 12, Fol. 20.** M.A. sagt, es sei noch keine Empfehlung für den jungen Heiratskandidaten seiner Tochter Matrine, daß er beim Volke beliebt sei. Nur Philosophen wären imstande, die Ehrenhaftigkeit eines Mannes zu beglaubigen, gewöhnliche Menschen

seien Toren. — **K. 13, Fol. 22.** Über die Gefahren einer schlechten Ehe: M.A. verweigert die Erlaubnis zur Heirat Matrinens. — **K. 14, Fol. 23.** Weisheit, sittlicher Lebenswandel und Kriegstüchtigkeit machen M.A. berühmt. Er ist heiter und in seiner Unterhaltung liebenswürdig: das größte Laster kann durch gute Unterhaltung verdeckt werden. Je mehr man zunimmt an Weisheit, desto geringer schätzt man die Fleischeslust. M.A. ist mäßig im Genuß. Beim Reiten hat er kein Glück. Er haßt die Schauspieler und verbannt sie. — **K. 15, Fol. 25.** Das größte Übel für einen Menschen bedeutet es, wenn er die Tugend mit dem Laster vertauscht. Die Guten sollen die Schlechten meiden. — M.A. ist einfach und paßt sich jedem Menschen an, wie es ein Fürst tun sollte. Er ist gerecht und gemäßigt in allen Dingen. — Der Weise muß mit Geduld Leid ertragen können. — **K. 16, Fol. 26.** M.A. ist während des Janusfestes gegen die Gefangenen außerordentlich milde. Ein neidischer Senator stellt ihn darüber zur Rede. — **K. 17, Fol. 28.** M.A. antwortet, daß der Thron auf der Liebe des Volkes ruhe, daß Liebe zum Volke dieses gehorsam mache und Milde gegen die Gefangenen ihm die Herzen ihrer Völker gewinne. — **K. 18, Fol. 30.** Der Philosoph muß gegen das Laster vor allem mit guten Handlungen ankämpfen. — M.A. teilt seine Zeit gut ein. Zweimal wöchentlich kommt er mit dem Volke in unmittelbare Berührung. — Er hat ein Gemach, das niemand außer ihm betreten darf. — **K. 19, Fol. 31.** Faustina möchte gerne das private Gemach sehen. Sie erinnert ihn an ein Gesetz, welches verbiete, schwangeren Frauen etwas abzuschlagen. M.A. erwidert, die Frau sei ihres Mannes schlimmster Feind. Der Weise mache seine Frau weder zu seiner Sklavin, noch lasse er sich aber von ihr beherrschen. Weiber seien töricht: sie wollen immer sprechen, herrschen, sehen und gesehen werden. M.A. beneidet die Toten, weil sie keine Frauen brauchen. — **K. 20, Fol. 34.** Es ist gefährlich, sich mit Frauen einzulassen. — M.A. sagt der Faustina, sie sei zwar schön, aber schlecht; hätte er sie

früher erkannt, so hätte er sie nicht geheiratet. — Des Mannes Herz ist edel. Die Frau verlangt viel für das Wenige, was sie bietet. Der Weise, der mit einer Frau in Frieden leben will, soll sie häufig ermahnen, selten tadeln und niemals schlagen. — **K. 21, Fol. 35.** Die Frauen waren besser, als der Senat zu ihren Gunsten Gesetze erließ. — M.A. gibt der Faustina nicht nach und zitiert ein Gesetz, nach welchem im Falle der Sittenverderbnis keine Privilegien zu gewähren seien. — **K. 22, Fol. 37.** M.A. zu Neapel an der Gicht erkrankt. Er erfährt daselbst, daß 10000 Mauritanier in Großbritannien gelandet seien. Dorthin befiehlt er seine Hofleute, die sich einschiffen, als die Nachricht eintrifft, die Mauritanier hätten die britischen Inseln schon wieder verlassen. — M.A. sucht seinen Hof vor Verderbnis zu schützen. — **K. 23, Fol. 38.** M.A. sagt zu den Hofleuten, daß gute Handlungen den Weisen am ersten erkennen lassen. Faule Leute verderben jetzt das Volk; früher gab es keine Verderbtheit, weil es keine faulen Menschen gab. Klagend ruft er aus, Rom möge sich bessern. — **K. 24, Fol. 39.** Die Faulheit ist das schlimmste aller Übel. M.A. bedauert die Verderbtheit seiner Diener, die Frucht ihrer Sinnlichkeit und ihrer Faulheit. — Wie der Fürst ist, so soll auch sein Haus und sein Reich sein. Die Untertanen handeln, wie der Fürst handelt: der Fürst muß also gut sein. — **K. 25, Fol. 41.** M.A. sagt zu den Pagen, sie seien nach Rom gekommen, um gute Sitten zu lernen. Rom brauche arbeitsame Leute. Catos Beispiel zeige, wie mächtig ein Mann durch seine Tugend werden könne. Wer während des Lebens und über das Grab hinaus Ruhm haben wolle, müsse seine Tugend in ehrenhaften Reden und guten Handlungen offenbaren. — **K. 26, Fol. 44.** Erzählung M.A.s von dem Untergange der Piraten von Palermo: Zwei Jahre nach seinem Regierungsantritt hatten diese den Numidiern zehn Schiffe weggenommen. Nach dem Befehl der Gouverneure sollte die Beute bis nach Beendigung des Krieges zur Verteilung aufbewahrt werden. Da erscheint ein fabelhaftes Ungeheuer und schreibt Buch-

staben, deren Bedeutung so entziffert wird: man solle, um Frieden zu haben, was anderen gehört, zurückgeben. Palermo wird von dem Feuer, das von dem Ungeheuer ausgeht, verheert: Die Piraten mitsamt den geraubten Schätzen verbrennen. 2000 Häuser fallen ein, und 10000 Menschen gehen zu Grunde: So vereinigen sich Natur und Unnatur, um die Menschen zu bestrafen. — **K. 27, Fol. 45.** Der Römer Antigonus, welcher mitsamt seiner Familie sich wenig an die Gesetze gekehrt hat und mit Frau und Tochter verbannt ist, weilt zur Zeit des Unglücks in Sicilien; die Tochter kommt hierbei um. M.A. spendet ihm daraufhin in einem Briefe Trost. — **K. 28, Fol. 47.** Drei überirdische Zeichen deuten auf das Herannahen der Pest und auf einen Krieg gegen die Parther. — Während der Pest bleibt M.A. bis zuletzt auf dem Kapitol, dann fährt er nach Neapel. — **K. 29, Fol. 48.** Trotz eines Fiebers legt M.A. zu Neapel die Bücher nicht beiseite. Er stellt das Geistige über das Materielle. Er beruft sich auf die Philosophen, welche eine erste Ursache annehmen, die ein Gott sei, und welche die verschiedenen Himmelsgötter mit den verschiedenen Tugenden der Erdbewohner identifizieren. — Was den Weisen fehlt, ersetzen sie durch Wissenschaft. — **K. 30, Fol. 50.** Die Unwissenheit ist besonders gefährlich für einen Fürsten, denn dieser ist unter der Voraussetzung gewählt, er wisse mehr als Andere. — Je gewaltiger ein Fürst ist, desto tugendreicher soll er sein. — Das alte Rom war mehr durch Weisheit als durch Waffen berühmt und gefürchtet. — Die Weisheit wird stets geehrt, und die Zeit, die man braucht, um sie zu erlangen, ist immer wohl angebracht. Weise und Bücher sind für M.A. die beste Gesellschaft. Es ist ein unfehlbares Gesetz, daß der weise Fürst gut, der unwissende dagegen schlecht ist. — **K. 31, Fol. 52.** M.A. ist krank. Die Ärzte und Redner sagen, Rom habe jetzt keine Männer mehr, die die Wahrheit zu sagen wagen. M.A. antwortet mit der Erzählung von dem wild ausschenden Donaubauern, der den Mut hatte, über die Ungerechtigkeiten der römischen Richter

und Beamten dem Senate die Wahrheit zu sagen: Der Bauer meint, die gerechten Götter hätten seine Ahnen bestraft, weil sie Schlechtes getan hätten, sie würden auch den Römern die unrechtmäßig erworbenen Güter wieder entreißen. Von der Habgier kommt der Bauer auf die allgemeine Verderbtheit zu sprechen und sagt, obwohl die Menschen einstimmig das Laster verurteilen, seien sie nichtsdestoweniger alle lasterhaft. — **K. 32, Fol. 54.** Es sei gerecht, daß derjenige, welcher sich zum Tyrannen erhebe, Sklave werde: Ihr habt unser Land in Besitz genommen, ihr müßt uns daher gerecht regieren. Aber eure Richter sind der Bestechung zugänglich! Die Götter strafen schwer für einen kleinen Fehler, den, der viele Fehler begangen hat, strafen sie überhaupt nicht. — **K. 33, Fol. 56.** Am Tage von M.A.s Triumph über die „Arragons“ wird Commodus zum Erben des Reiches gewählt. M.A. meint bei diesem Anlasse, die erbliche Thronfolge werde das Reich zu Grunde richten. Wette zwischen M.A. und dem Volke, wer den anderen am meisten liebe. M.A. betrachtet es als einen großen Ruhm, solche Untertanen zu haben. Das Volk rühmt die Gnade, die Tugend und die Kriegstüchtigkeit seines Kaisers, der als Triumphator aus Salon in Rom einzieht. — **K. 34, Fol. 57.** Faustina erlangt von M.A. die mit Widerstreben erteilte Erlaubnis für sich und ihre Tochter Lucilla, einem seiner Triumphe beizuwohnen. Faustina und Lucilla benehmen sich dabei sehr leichtsinnig. M.A. meint, es sei besser für eine Frau, nicht geboren zu werden, als sich einen schlechten Ruf zu erwerben. Es genügt nicht, gut zu sein: man muß auch die Gelegenheiten meiden, Böses zu tun. — M.A. vertraut zwar nie auf das Glück, verzagt jedoch ebensowenig im Unglück. — **K. 35, Fol. 59.** Nach dem Feste sagt M.A., er befürchte mehr den Verlust des guten Namens während des Triumphes, als den des Lebens während der Schlacht. — **K. 36, Fol. 63.** M.A. meint zu Faustina und Lucilla, Verschämtheit ziere die römischen Frauen am meisten. Treue Frauen und mutige Heerführer brauche der Staat; schlechte Frauen aber seien

dessen gefährlichste Feinde. Frauen genössen einen guten Ruf, wenn sie einsam und beschäftigt zu Hause blieben, wenn sie nicht übermäßig viel sprächen, ihren Männern in Treue ergeben, ordentlich und friedliebend, ehrenhaft und anderen gegenüber zurückhaltend wären. Jetzt heirate man allgemein des Geldes, nicht wie früher der Tugend wegen. — **K. 37, Fol. 66.** Die Faulheit verursache alle Laster. Wenn Faustina die Lucilla gegen Gefahren schützen wolle, müsse sie sie ständig mit guten Handlungen beschäftigen. — **K. 38, Fol. 69.** M.A.s Töchter Lucilla, Persena, Matrina und Domitia sind alle schön und leichtsinnig wie ihre Mutter. Schöne Frauen taugen nicht für die Ehe; es ist gefährlich, eine Schöne zu heiraten. Von der Geburt eines Mädchens an soll der Vater darauf bedacht sein, wie er es mit einem guten Manne vermähle. — **K. 39, Fol. 70.** M.A. wird zu Pannonien, als er dort im Winter seines 62. Lebensjahres mit Commodus das Heer befehligt, schwer krank: dabei verachtet er sein Leben, indem er sich im Lager herumführen läßt. Sein Gesicht wird gelb und sein Mund schwarz. Trotz seiner Weisheit seufzt, weint und heult M.A. — **K. 40, Fol. 71.** Panutius sagt zu M.A., es tue ihm weh, daß der Kaiser jetzt wie ein gewöhnlicher Mensch sterbe, nachdem er so lange wie ein Weiser gelebt habe. Weder um Helie, seine junge Frau, noch um seine Kinder brauche M.A. besorgt zu sein: sie alle würden seinen Tod herbeisehnen. Er solle den Tod, der von den Göttern kommt, ehren. — **K. 41, Fol. 75.** M.A. findet an Panutius' Worten Gefallen und meint, es sei ein Zeichen von großem Mitleid, wenn man Sterbenden zeige, was sie tun sollten. — **K. 42, Fol. 75.** Den Lohn für Panutius' guten Rat müßten die Götter geben. Guter Rat sei der beste Lohn, den ein Freund geben könne. — Als Mensch habe er Furcht vor dem Tode, mit der Vernunft aber habe er diese gänzlich überwunden. — Die Hauptursache seiner Niedergeschlagenheit sei, daß er den Commodus

in einem für diesen selbst und für das Reich gefährlichen Alter allein lassen müßte. Er fürchte, C. könne sich selbst und den Ruhm seines Vaters in Gefahr bringen. Das größte Glück eines tugendhaften Mannes sei, Ruhm während des Lebens und einen guten Erben nach dem Tode zu haben. —

K. 43, Fol. 80. Sein Herz bleibe seinen Freunden. Wenn die Götter gerecht seien, müßten sie seinen Ruhm unsterblich machen, da er gut gelebt habe. Die Gesellschaft der Menschen gegen die Götter einzutauschen, sei nicht übel. — Sie sollten stets einig sein. Übler Rat verderbe den Fürsten und richte den Staat zu Grunde. — Man gehorche dem Commodus. — Freigebig sollen die Regenten sein. — Nie setze man seine Ehre den Wechselfällen des Schicksals aus! — **K. 44, Fol. 86.** M.A. hat nur gute Menschen um sich gehabt. — Er ernennt sechs Senatoren, welche Commodus beraten und bei der Regierung zur Seite stehen sollen. Commodus wird geweckt; er zeigt keine Bekümmernis darüber, daß sein Vater im Sterben liegt. — **K. 45, Fol. 86.** M.A. klagt, Commodus sehne die Stunde herbei, wo er Kaiser sein werde. Rom werde jetzt vom Laster verheert. — Frei sei, wer frei geboren und frei sterbe. Keine Freiheit ohne edle Gesinnung! Ein wahrhaft edler Mann räume alles aus dem Wege, was ihn hindere, tugendhaft zu bleiben. — M.A. beansprucht für sich das Verdienst, nie die Gesetze wissentlich falsch ausgelegt zu haben, auch nie gegen einen guten Menschen vorgegangen zu sein. — **K. 46, Fol. 89.** M.A. warnt Commodus vor dem Leichtsinn der jungen Leute und der Habgier der Alten. Der Weise regiert selbst, hört jedoch auch auf den Rat anderer Leute. Die meisten Leute verfolgen beim Fürsten nur eigene Interessen. — **K. 47, Fol. 91.** M.A.s letzte Ratschläge an C.: Liebe, was ich im Leben liebte. Halte die Tempel und die Priester in Ehren. Bete zu den Göttern. Sorge für die Witwen und die Armen. — Alle geben vor, die Gerechtigkeit zu lieben, handeln jedoch nicht immer demgemäß. — **K. 48, Fol. 93.** Mit Tagesanbruch wird M.A. schwächer. Er entnimmt einem Koffer eine von Apelles

bemalte Tafel, die er sein größtes Juwel nennt. Als Kaiser hinterlasse er dem C. das Reich und als Vater diese Tafel, die früher in Ägypten jedem neuen Könige um den Hals gehängt worden sei. — Bald darauf stirbt M.A. — Die Tafel enthält die Grundsätze des Königs Ptolemäus Arsacides, z. B.: „niemals unterließ ich es, denen Recht zu sprechen, die danach verlangten“; „niemals öffnete ich Schmeichlern meine Tür“; „ich war milde gegen die Armen, und die Götter waren es gegen mich“.

Briefe.

Br. 1, Fol. 94. An Pyramon: M.A. wünscht seinem Freunde P. Kraft, das Unglück zu ertragen. Er selbst lebt der Arbeit. Die Welt und das Fleisch kämpfen andauernd gegen uns Menschen. — Wie soll man sich aber vor Neidern bewahren? Das einzige Mittel dagegen besteht darin, daß man sich jeglichem Wohlstand entziehe. Die Welt ist voll Neid; die Not der Armen und der Überfluß der Reichen nähren die Unzufriedenheit im Volke. Ein neidischer Freund schadet am meisten. Halte dich an deine Verwandten, wenn du deinen Feinden entgehen willst. — Das Buch vom „Trost im Leid“ habe ich beendet und ins Capitol gelegt.

Br. 2, Fol. 98. An Cornelius: Man soll einen römischen Heerführer um seinen Triumph nicht beneiden, denn auf einen Freudentag kommen für ihn tausend Tage der Besorgnis. Verflucht sei derjenige, der den römischen Pomp erfand! Das Unglück der Besiegten läßt M.A. während seines Triumphes nicht zu rechter Freude kommen. — Der herrschend gewordene Leichsinn wird Rom künftig zum Sklaven seiner jetzigen Sklaven machen. Viele Männer verlassen ihre Arbeit unter dem Vorwande, in den Krieg zu ziehen, während sie doch untauglich für den Heeresdienst sind. Wenig wird erreicht, wenn die Frauen mitziehen in den Krieg. Diejenigen, die sich am furchtbarsten gebärden, sind gewöhnlich am feigsten. Der Starke kann leiden. Rom

hat Asien mit seinen Waffen erobert, dagegen hat Asien Rom mit seinen Lastern besiegt. Zum Schluß verurteilt M.A. die Übel des Krieges.

Br. 3, Fol. 104. An den verbannten Torquatus: Er vermisse T. als einen guten Freund. Tugendhafte Männer fürchten vom Glück mehr als vom Unglück. Ungemach stählt uns für die Zukunft. Das Schicksal ist voll Bitterkeit; man ertrage alles, wie es kommt. Es ist schwer, das Herz eines Menschen zu ergründen. Da deine Verdienste gering sind, T., warum beklagst du dich über dein Schicksal? Die Welt macht uns lasterhaft. — M.A. macht dem T. ein Geldgeschenk und sagt, er werde sich beim Senat für ihn verwenden.

Br. 4, Fol. 107. An den verbannten Domitius: Es ist bedauerlich, daß du wegen eines Pferdes um deine ganze Habe gekommen bist. Oft, wenn wir uns sicher wähnen, sind wir gerade in größter Gefahr. Wer sich über das Tier erheben will, sei bestrebt, edel zu leben und zu sterben.

Br. 5, Fol. 119. An das Greisenpaar Claudius und Claudine: Ihr verbrachtet euer ganzes Leben in Eitelkeit, ihr Toren! Alles an euch verdient Verachtung. Fünfzig Jahre lang suchte ich vergebens Befriedigung in Genüssen und fand dabei nur eine Steigerung meiner Begierde. Das Leben ist ein Traum; erst mit dem Tode wacht man auf. — Wir möchten als tugendhaft gelten und tun Böses. Wie konntet ihr euch in Gegenwart eurer Enkel wie junge Leute benehmen? Es steht nicht in der Macht des Menschen, dem Alter zu entgehen. Des Lebens geben uns die Götter wenig, des Todes ohne Maß. Wenn ihr den Tod fürchtet, dann verbessert ihr euer Leben! Euer Körper ist schon gebrechlich: Entsagt daher dem Leben und bereitet euch auf den Tod vor. Ein junger tugendhafter Mensch wird eher als ein reicher und lasterhafter Alter geehrt. Ich habe viele gekannt, die in ihrer Jugend gerühmt wurden und die später durch Leichtsinn zu Grunde gingen. Spendet, was euch vom Leben noch bleibt, den Göttern: Mögen sie uns ein gutes Leben schicken.

Br. 6, Fol. 116. An die Witwe Labinia: Mit Unrecht beweinst du den Tod deines Gatten, du hättest eher Grund gehabt, sein Leben unter schlechten Menschen zu beweinen. Der Gute lebt, während er stirbt, und der Böse stirbt schon, während er noch lebt. Denke nicht, daß du allein ihn verloren hast! Da wir über die Toten keine Macht haben, so überlasse alles den Göttern. Vergiß nicht, daß eine Römerin Ehrenhaftigkeit ziert. Die Götter mögen dich trösten!

Br. 7, Fol. 118. An Cincinnatus: Man nennt dich zwar alt, deine Werke aber zeigen, daß du jung bist. Ich weiß, daß du die Stelle eines Praetors im Kriege mit der eines Kaufmannes vertauscht hast. Du hast damit eine ehrenvolle Stellung für eine wenig ehrenvolle hingegeben. Denn statt den Staat zu verteidigen, wie bisher, wirst du ihn knechten. Jetzt erst, im Alter, bist du habgierig geworden. — Die Unsterblichkeit allein haben die Götter den Menschen nicht verliehen. — Weder das Schicksal noch die Zeit vermögen den Ruf, den man im Leben genoß, ebenso wenig wie die Strafe oder den Lohn der Götter vergessen zu machen. Es ist gerecht, daß die Betrüger durch ihre eigenen Gedanken beim Sterben betrogen werden. Deine ehrenvolle Vergangenheit und die Rücksicht auf des Landes Wohl hätten dich vor Habgier bewahren sollen. Deine Weisheit hätte für edlere Taten aufgewandt werden können. Möge deine Habgier dich verlassen und kein Betrug in deinem Herzen wohnen.

Br. 8, Fol. 122. An Catulus. M. A. erbittet seines Freundes Rat: Mein Sohn Verissimus ist gestorben; tagtäglich erneut sich mein Schmerz darüber. Das beste Heilmittel gegen das Unglück ist, es wie ein Weiser mit Geduld zu tragen. Die leiblichen Schmerzen sind leichter zu ertragen, als die seelischen. Ich trauere ebenso sehr um meinen schlechten überlebenden Sohn, wie um den guten V. Wenngleich die Götter mich durch seinen Tod strafen wollten, danke ich ihnen, daß es mir vergönnt war, wenigstens während seines kurzen Lebens an ihm Freude zu haben.

Obwohl ich ein heiteres Gesicht zur Schau trage, ist mein Leben voll Kummer.

Br. 9, Fol. 125. An Marcurinus: M.A. weist seinen alten Genossen auf die Ohnmacht des Menschen Krankheiten gegenüber hin. Derjenige, der anderen Reiche entreißt, vermag nicht das Fieber aus seinen Knochen zu verscheuchen. Ich glaube, dein Herz weilt noch bei dem Blei, das du auf dem Meere verloren hast. Das, wofür es kein Heilmittel gibt, sollte man geduldig ertragen. Nur die Toten sind vor den Übeln des Lebens sicher. Wenn du wieder in den Besitz deiner verlorenen Habe gelangen solltest, würdest du dein Leben und deinen guten Ruf gefährden.

Br. 10, Fol. 128. An den verbannten Antigonus: Deine Sache steht im Senate nicht schlecht. — Den betrübten Freund soll man trösten. — Während meiner Jugendzeit warst du immer mein Vertrauter. Dein großes Unglück hat mich nicht überrascht: Deine Bosheit hat es verdient. Es hat mich merkwürdig berührt, daß du dich über den Senat beklagst. Die Senatoren sind auch nur Menschen: Wenn es aber um die Gerechtigkeit geht, sollten sie mehr als Menschen sein. Du beklagst dich über die Götter wie ein Barbar. Da du unter Fremden bist, so mußst du alles über dich ergehen lassen. In allem können die Götter nach eigenem Ermessen handeln, nur nicht in Bezug auf die Gerechtigkeit; denn da sie Götter Aller sind, müssen sie auch Alle gleich behandeln. Die Menschen sind selten gerecht. — Aus guten Handlungen erwächst die beste Linderung für ein betrübtes Herz.

Br. 11, Fol. 133. An Antigonus: Du sagst, daß wegen der unerbittlichen Strenge der Censoren die Sizilianer schlecht gegen den Senat gesonnen seien. Ehrlosen Menschen gegenüber müssen die Richter unerbittlich sein. Inselvölker sind allemal schlecht und die Sizilianer besonders. Die grausamen Richtersprüche der Censoren aber sind mehr die von Tyrannen, als von Römern. Rom wird sie als Gegner seines gnädigen Regiments betrachten. Richter sollten gemäßigt sein; sie sollten eher Mitleid üben, als Rache. Es

ist unheilvoll, die Rechtsprechung einem ungerechten Manne anzuvertrauen. Du sollst diesen Brief den Praetoren im Geheimen zeigen, und wenn sie sich nicht bessern sollten, müssen wir Mittel finden, sie öffentlich zur Rechenschaft zu ziehen.

Br. 12, Fol. 139. An Lambertus, den Gouverneur der Inseln des Hellesponts: Ich schicke dir drei Schiffe mit Narrenmeistern; wenn ich alle Narren aus Rom hätte verbannen wollen, hätten wir die Stadt neu bevölkern müssen. Es gibt kein Mittel, die Narren gänzlich auszurotten. In Rom wittert man Torheit und auf jenen Inseln die Weisheit der Philosophen, deren Gebeine dort begraben sind. Am Tage der Berecynthia haben die Narren Rom betreten. Ich habe sie verbannt, weil sie so vielen die Köpfe verdreht haben. Narren stehen mit einander auf gutem Fuße.

Br. 13, Fol. 143. An Catulus: M.A. macht seinem Busenfreunde C. Mitteilungen über den Hof. Mit den guten alten Sitten ist es vorbei. Ich bin erstaunt über die Beredsamkeit und den Gerechtigkeitseifer der Senatoren in der Sitzung; außerhalb derselben bin ich von ihrer schlechten Gesinnung und ihren unwürdigen Handlungen ebenso überrascht. Diejenigen, welche öffentlich stehlen, sind jetzt die Herren, und die, welche heimlich stehlen, werden Diebe genannt. Rom hat sich so plötzlich verändert, daß ein jäher Sturz unausbleiblich ist. Wie die Völker, sind auch die Einzelnen. Ein Gesandter sagte den Senatoren bittere Wahrheiten ins Gesicht; manche wollten, daß er bestraft würde, aber ich werde es nie dulden, daß ein Mann, der die Wahrheit sagt, in meiner Gegenwart zu leiden hätte. Die Götter tun niemals Übles und die Senatoren niemals Gutes; wer nicht die Wahrheit hören will, kann unmöglich Gutes tun. Ich bin gegen meinen Willen Censor im Senate geworden. Der Mann der Faustina ist zu allen Schlechtigkeiten fähig! Seit meiner Vermählung scheine ich meiner Sinne nicht mehr mächtig zu sein. Früher stand Rom wegen gerechter Bestrafung der Missetäter in Ansehen, jetzt ist es durch Beraubung Unschuldiger in Verruf gekommen.

Br. 14, Fol. 149. An die verliebten Römerinnen: Ihr fragt mich nach dem Ursprung des ersten Weibes. Die Ägypter sagen, die Frau sei aus Erde vom Bette des Nils entstanden. Da ich vom Weibe geboren bin, hasse ich mein Leben. Frauen, die gut sein wollen, sollten selbst den Weisen nicht trauen. Avilina, die du den Scherz auf mich machtest, du hast oft unschuldige Jungfrauen billig verkauft! Diejenigen, die mich verletzt haben, werde ich auch verletzen. Es ist leider unmöglich, die Frauen gänzlich zu meiden.

Br. 15, Fol. 153. M.A. an seine frühere Geliebte Boemia: Nach einer Schlacht las ich deinen Brief, welchem zufolge du zu mir zu kommen gedenkst. — Niemals fand ich ein Weib von festem Charakter. — Schlechtigkeiten der Jugend rühren von Unwissenheit her, die des Alters von Bosheit. — Ich habe dich in deiner Blüte genossen, jetzt gleichst du der Frucht, und nun, in deiner Reife, verlangst du nach mir. Alle meine Gaben vermochten nicht, deine Habgier zu sättigen. — Die Römerinnen sind der Aufenthalt des Lasters. — Deine zwei Knaben haben fünfzehn Väter! Lucia, unsere vermeintliche Tochter, habe ich verheiratet.

Br. 16, Fol. 151. Boemia an ihren Todfeind M.A.: Frauenherzen werden niemals überwunden. Du bist darum nicht in der Schlacht gefallen, weil du zu feige bist, um dich in Gefahr zu begeben. Weiber aber getraust du dich mit deiner Zunge anzugreifen, du Tyrann! Wir sind weder so töricht, wie du denkst, noch bist du so weise, wie du dir einbildest! Meine Liebe ist so groß, daß ich die Genüsse Roms deinetwegen mit den Schlachtfeldern vertauschen wollte. Ich habe als schwaches Weib, du aber als starker Mann gefehlt. Ich habe dir wie einem ritterlichen Manne getraut, du aber hast mich wie ein Lügner betrogen. Du wurdest mein Hauslehrer bloß, um mich meiner Unschuld zu berauben. Du weißt, daß Faustina nicht unschuldig war, als du dich mit ihr vermähltest. Deiner Lehre wegen ist dein Haus eine Philosophenschule am Tage, und wegen des Leichtsinns der Faustina ein Bordell während der Nacht. —

Du hast nie gut gelebt: Deine Schmach wird also nie ein Ende nehmen. Ich liebte dich niemals deiner Güter wegen, während du mich wegen meiner äußeren Schönheit geliebt hast. Du bist nicht der Vater von Faustinas Kindern! Deine Nachsicht Faustinas Schlechtigkeit gegenüber ist das Einzige, was an dir lobenswert ist.

Br. 17, Fol. 160. M.A. an die junge Matrine. — Matrine stand am Fester als M.A. sich in sie verliebte. — Ich wollte der Hinrichtung der Diebe beiwohnen, als du mich hinrichtetest. Ich verlange keine andere Gunst von dir, als daß wir einander unsere Meinung sagen dürfen. Sei meiner Treue versichert!

Br. 18, Fol. 162. Zweiter Brief an Matrine. — Keine größere Pein als verschmähte Liebe! Die Spröde der Frauen und die Unfreundlichkeit der Männer entspringen beide der Bosheit. Wenn du auch sagst, Patroclus, dein Gatte, besitze dich, so versuche es wenigstens einmal mit mir!

Br. 19, Fol. 163. An die schöne Lybia: Als du im Tempel der Vestalinnen betetest, habe ich dich angebetet. Es ist gerecht, demjenigen, der sein Herz opfert, mehr zu geben, als demjenigen, der nur sein Geld gibt. Aus Erfahrung weiß ich, daß jene Frau am freigebigsten ist und am leichtesten überwunden wird, die am strengsten bewacht wird. Die Liebe wird nicht gefühlt, bis sie zum Innersten gedrungen ist. Du bist verwundert, in mir äußerlich einen Philosophen und innerlich einen heimlichen Liebhaber zu sehen. Jetzt bin ich noch ein junger Tor in der Liebe: Wenn ich alt werde, werde ich weise werden. — Wer nicht liebt, der ist ein Narr! Der Weise ist auch ein Mensch! — Ich begehre nur deine treue Liebe. Was du verlangtest, tat ich, damit du später auch meine Wünsche erfülltest.

Schlußbemerkung. Fol. 166.

Dies „Goldene Buch“, ein besonders für Prinzen, Regenten und Richter lehrreiches Werk! Auch das Volk kann demselben Vieles entnehmen. Es enthält tiefe Wahrheiten und

gesunde Ratschläge gegen Unglück. Danken wir Gott, daß er einem Heiden so viel Gnade erwies, um in ihm ein Muster tugendhafter Lebensführung zu verkörpern. — Lob des anziehenden Stiles dieses Werkes.

E. Übersetzungsweise.

Die Wortwahl ist ein grundlegendes Merkmal jedes Stiles. Dies gilt besonders von Übersetzungen.

Es wird im Folgenden vor allem zu zeigen sein, wie die Wortwahl des „Golden Boke“ entstanden ist. Dazu ist unbedingt nötig, daß man den durch Berthaults Vermittelung von Guevara herstammenden und den ausschließlich Berthault angehörenden Elementen nachgehe, um so Berners' eigenen Anteil richtig feststellen zu können. Hierbei bin ich in folgender Weise verfahren: 1) die 48 Kapitel des „Libro Avreo“ verglich ich mit dem entsprechenden Teile des „Livre dore“ und diesen mit dem entsprechenden Teile des „Golden Boke“, das ich auch teilweise mit G.s Original verglich; 2) Um gründlich zu sein, habe ich die ersten 16 Kapitel jedes des verglichenen Teile der drei Werke bearbeitet und alle wichtigeren Abweichungen des Bert. und Bern. besprochen; 3) Bei der Behandlung jeder Abweichung habe ich die Stelle ihres Auftauchens zum Ausgangspunkte genommen, die Ursache ihrer Entstehung zu ermitteln versucht und ihre Wirkung bis ins Englische hinein verfolgt. Die Besprechungen habe ich auf das Nötigste beschränkt und sie ganz ausgelassen, wenn eine bloße Anführung des Falles zur Feststellung der Abweichung genügt. — Dieses Verfahren ermöglicht es, die Prosa des „Golden Boke“ in ihrer Entstehung aus der spanischen Quelle und in ihrer Entwicklung durch die französische Wiedergabe bis zu ihrer Aufnahme bei Bern. darzustellen. Es schließt ferner von selbst die Masse desjenigen Materials aus, das von Bert. und Bern. sklavisch übernommen wurde.

a) Hinzufügungen.

α) Hinzufügungen des Berthault.

Sätze. — Y al hombre viciofo metanle en la sepultura que alli acabara > Et a l'homme vicieux quant lon le mettra en sepulture illecques acheuera / *et iamais ne se peult corriger* > And whan the vitious man is laide in his graue he maketh an ende, and maye neuer correcte hym selfe (Fol. 15). Bert. will durch seine Hinzufügung den wörtlich wiedergegebenen Satz verständlicher machen.

Wortgruppen. — que por muy buenos se señalauã > q pour fort gens de bien estoient notez & luy ressembloient telz > that of manye folkes were esteemed to be of good behauour, and that to his femynges were suche in dede (Fol. 19). Die H. bewirkt Sinneserweiterung mit Hinweis auf M.A. — luego a las infantas las destetauã; y de ayas las proueyã > incontinent pourueoyent a leurs filles de femmes et maistresses *pour les endoctriner* > incontinente he provided womene and maystresses for to teache them (Fol. 18). Die H. bestimmt besser die Bedeutung der Teile des Wortparallelismus „femmes et maistresses“.

Einzelne Wörter zur Bildung von Parallelismen. Die H., die zur Bildung von Wortparallelismen dienen, sind die zahlreichsten von allen. Es handelt sich hauptsächlich um den Zusatz von Substantiven, Adjektiven oder Verben. Die Neigung, solche Wortpaarungen zu bilden, war schon bei G. vorhanden, sie erfuhr aber eine bedeutende Verstärkung bei Bert., der bei seinem Streben, den Sinn des Spanischen mit breiter Deutlichkeit wiederzugeben, sich häufig zur Hinzufügung schmückender und erläuternder Ausdrücke verleiten ließ. Diese Art der Verdeutlichung entwickelte sich bei ihm zu einem ständigen Mittel der Sprachbereicherung. — Die hier gelegentlich zu beobachtende grammatische Angleichung (Gleichheit der Endung, Gleichheit des Anlauts) trägt übrigens, als ein Mittel des Nachdrucks, zur Befriedigung der Aufmerksamkeit bei.

Substantive. — *vezinos* > *voifins* & *habitās* > neighbours (Fol. 12). Hinzugekommen ist ein mit „*voifins*“ sinnverwandter, aber umfassenderer substantivischer Begriff. — *cordura* > *sageffe* et *vertu* > *wysedome* and *vertue* (Fol. 12). Durch H. eines begrifflich verwandten Substantivums ist ein Wortparallelismus erzielt. — *los ficulos* > *les Siciliēs* et *Siculains* > *the Syliciens* and *Syculains* (Fol. 6). Durch die H. ergibt sich ein Wortparallelismus aus Eigennamen gleichen Anlauts und ähnlichen Auslauts. — *moços parleros* > *parleurs* et *menteurs* > *ianglers* and *lyers* (Fol. 11). Die H. ist eine mögliche Folgerung aus „*parleurs*“ mit gleichzeitiger grammatischer Angleichung.

Adjektive. — *perdidos* > *perduz* et *mauluais* > *loste* and *naughte* (Fol. 15). Die H. durch Schlußfolgerung aus „*perduz*“. — *arduas* > *haultes* et *ardues* > *high* and *difficult* (Fol. 22). — *quexofos* > *marrys* ny *complaignans* > *complayning* and *angrye* (Fol. 26). — *varones muy aprouados* > *hommes nobles* et *fort bien approuuetes* > *noble men* and *well approued* (Fol. 3). Die H. trägt zur Steigerung der Bedeutung von „*fort bien approuuetes*“ bei. — *El mayorazgo* > *Le plus grant* et *laifne* > *The greattest* and *eldest* (Fol. 8). Aus „*laifne*“ wird die naheliegende Folgerung „*le plus grant*“ gezogen.

Verben. — *desmāde* > *acoustume* ny *demande* > *he accustome hym not to demaunde* (Fol. 15). — *con el pueblo lo reboluian* > *auec le peuple le blasmoient* & *vituperoint* > *amonge the people blamed hym, and rebuked hym* (Fol. 26). Die H. steigert den Grad des Begriffes „*blasmoient*“. — *no me alcācā* > *ne le peuent attaindre* ny *cōprendre* > *can not atteyne therto or comprife it* (Fol. 13). Begriffszergliederung: „*Attaindre*“ bedeutet das physische und „*cōprendre*“ das psychische „*Erreichen*“. — *se auia de pintar* > *deuoient estre painctes* & *insculpees* > *they shulde be paynted and grauen* (Fol. 17).

Einzelne Wörter ohne parallelen Begriff werden von Bert. seltener hinzugefügt.

Substantive. — ayos > maistres *docteurs* > greatte maysters (Fol. 12). — vna de las infantas > vne des infantes *ses filles* > one of his doughters (Fol. 20). — entalladores > tailleurs *dymages* > grauers of ymages (Fol. 8).

Zahlwörter. — cinco matronas . . . con cinco caualeros > cinq *cens* matrofnes auec cinq *cens* cheualiers > V hundred matrones . . . to V. c. knyghtes (Fol. 21).

β) Hinzufügungen des Lord Berners.

Sätze. — Como vn truhã fizieffe lo que los femejantes en femejantes casos fuelen fazer: el emperador . . . > Comme vng truant feist ce que les semblebles en semblebles cas ont acostume faire. Lempereur . . . > As a trewande and foole dothe lyke hym selfe, and semblablye as he is accustomed to doo. *And as lyke as oone dothe the semblable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to doo*: so the emperour . . . (Fol. 10). Derartige Verschrobenheiten kommen daher, daß Bern. die unklare frz. Ausdrucksweise nicht ganz verstand.

Wortgruppen. — cō el dolor no falia al fenado > auec la douleur ne venoit au fenat > for sorrowe sawe not the fenate *of a long space* (Fol. 9). Die hinzugefügte Wortgruppe bringt eine Bestimmung der Dauer hinzu. Sie zeigt Bern.s Neigung zur Bildung einfacher Alliteration.

Einzelne Wörter zur Bildung von Parallelismen werden von Bern. verhältnismäßig selten hinzugefügt.

Substantive. — clemencia > clemēce > clemencie and *lowlynes* (Fol. 26).

Adjektive. — maduro > meur > rype and *fadde* (Fol. 20). — fano > fain > hole and *clere* (Fol. 26). — del erizo erizado > de la cocque fort piquāte et hericee > of the sharpe prickinge and *hard* hufke (Fol. 16): Hier liegt im Sp. eine Begriffswiederholung vor, die Verstärkung des Nachdrucks bezweckt. Sie wird von Bern. durch „hard

hufke“ wiedergegeben, womit zugleich eine Alliteration h... h... gewonnen wird.

Einzelne Wörter ohne parallelen Begriff sind äußerst selten.

Adjektive. — de agua > deaue > with *salte* teares (Fol. 9). Die H. bedeutet eine Verstärkung der Emphase.

Berners' Hinzufügungen sind, wie aus den Beispielen ersichtlich, von geringer stilistischer Tragweite.

b) Auslassungen.

α) Auslassungen des Berthault.

Sätze. — Comienca el libro de la vida: nobles y virtuosos exercicios / profundas y altas sentencias del eloquentissimo Marco Aurelio emperador. Affimesmo de algunas cartas fuyas dignas de salir a luz. *Va el libro tan alto en estilo | quan profundo en sentencias. I aun sin iniuriar a nadie se puede dezir | no auerse visto hasta oy estilo tan subido en lengua castellana.* > Cy commence le liure de la vie / nobles & vertueux exercices / profondes et haultes sentences de leloquentissime Marc aurele empereur / Auffi mesmes daucunes lettres fiennes dignes de faillir a lumiere. > Hier begyneth the boke of the lyfe of the noble and eloquent Mark Aurely emperour (Fol. 1). Bert. ließ nur die eigentliche Überschrift stehen und schaltete G.s Empfehlung des Werkes aus. Die A. des zweiten Teiles dieser Empfehlung paßt im Frz. gut, da er sich nur auf das Sp. bezieht. Auch später noch zeigt Bert. Neigung zur Kürzung der Überschriften. Bern. zeigt dieselbe Neigung in noch stärkerem Maße, daher die Knappheit, mit der er auch im vorliegenden Falle die frz. Überschrift wiedergibt. — Por cierto fue bueno el consejo: & *quiẽ me lo dijo muy bueno. Tenia razõ aql viejo.* El curioso ... > Pour certain fut bon iceluy cõseil. Le curieux ... > Surely this counsell was good. The curious ... (Fol. 13). Die beiden ausgelassenen Sätze enthalten rhetorische Emphatisierungen des im vorhergehenden Satze Gesagten.

Wortgruppen. — Paulo emilio a los marineros: *Camillo capitā: a los mōteros*. Cayo cefar a los plateros.
 > Paulo emilio des mariniers / Cayo cefar les orfeurs /
 > Paulus Emilius mariniers: Caius Cefar goldfmythes
 (Fol. 7). — cuchillo pa los adulteros: *pozo pa los faltea-*
dores: ni horca pa los ladrões. > / vng cousteau pour les
 adulteres / ny fourches pour les larrons. > ., nor knyues
 for aduoutres, nor galowes for theues (Fol. 7). — ni la
 cadena en los hombros / *ni el joyel en los pechos* / ni el
 cetro en las manos / > / ny la chaifne dor fur les espaules
 nyle sceptre en la main / > ., nor a chaine of gold about
 his fhulders nor the sceptre in his hande (Fol. 15). Außer
 darin, daß diese Auslassungen sämtlich ein einzelnes Glied
 in der Mitte eines Parallelismus betreffen, stimmen sie auch
 darin überein, daß der Sinn einer jeden von ihnen mit dem
 der anderen Glieder des betreffenden Parall. in häufig sehr
 engem Zusammenhang steht. Dem entspricht es auch,
 daß die Glieder grammatisch einander beigeordnet sind.
 Erwähnenswert ist noch das häufige Vorkommen des Reimes
 am Ende jedes Aufzählungsgliedes im Sp. —: vn Alexandro
 los macedonios: vn Pyrro los epirotas: *vn Hector los tro-*
janos: vn Teotonio los vmbros: vn Viriato los yspanos:
 vn Anibal los cartaginēses: > / vng Alexādre les Macedoniens
 vng Pirrhe les Epirotiens / ceulx de lifle Epire / vng Han-
 nibal les Cartaginiens / > ., the Macedoniens one Alexander
 the Epirotiens one Pirrhe, one Hanyball the Carthageniens, ..
 (Fol. 3). Drei beigeordnete Aufzählungsglieder sind aus-
 gelassen; dadurch stilistische Vereinfachung, die von Bern.
 übernommen wird, welcher außerdem — aus seiner Neigung
 zur Beseitigung des Überflüssigen heraus — „ceulx de lifle
 Epire“ fortläßt. — / y sus dichos y consejos quedaron por
 dechado *en todos los figlos entre otras cosas dignas de eterna*
memoria dixo orando en el senado > / et les dictz et con-
 seilz demourerēt pour estre laif memoire difoit orant au
 senat. > ., and his wordes and counfels remayne for a re-
 mambrance, sayd openly in the senate: (Fol. 20). Die A.

bedeutet eine Lücke in Berts Wiedergabe, deren Sinn dadurch unverständlich wird. Dieser Fehler mag durch das Fehlen einer Interpunktion nach „figlos“ hervorgerufen sein. Bern.'s Übersetzung bekommt wohl einen Sinn bis „remembraunce“ durch das Komma nach diesem Wort, aber das Folgende bleibt ohne Zusammenhang und unverständlich.

Einzelne Wörter.

Verben. — y no os engañeis diziendo harto fabe en lo que *fabe* este moço para regir el imperio > et ne vous trôpez en difant / assez scet / en ce que ce ieune enfant pour gouuerner et regir lempire > . . ., nor be begyled, in fayinge, that he knoweth inough of that so yonge a chylde fhulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire (Fol. 16). Bezeichnend ist für das Sp. die Wiederholung von „fabe“. Ausgelassen ist im Frz. das zweite „fabe“, was Verdunkelung des Sinnes zur Folge hat. Bern. fügt „fhulde haue“ hinzu, was nicht ganz glücklich ist, da man das ausgelassene „fabe“ auch im Engl. etwas vermißt.

β) Auslassungen des Lord Berners von Elementen, die aus dem Sp. stammen.

Sätze. — ni tã profunda que no se descubra: ni tã entera que no se desfmiembre: ni tan defmembrada que no se ayunte: > / ny tant profonde qui ne se descouure / *ny tant entiere qui ne se defmembre* / ny tant defmembree qui ne se rassemble / >: nor so profounde but it may be discovered: nor so dyfeuered, but it may be gathered together (Fol. 6). Durch die A. geht das erste Glied einer Antithese und damit ein Teil der rhetorischen Kraft der Stelle verloren; doch wird so größere Einfachheit des engl. Ausdrucks erreicht. — . . . vn terron: . . . y a los propincos ciegan: y al cabo el mesmo se defmorona. > . . . vne pelote de boue / . . . & les prochains aueugle / *et a la fin luy mesme se rompt.* > . . . a pellet of duft, it hurteth hym that it toucheth,

and blyndethe them that ftande nexte. (Fol. 23). Die A. betrifft das letzte Glied einer Aufzählung, welches für den Sinn wesentlich ist. — Las matronas y donzellas por fi. Las virgenes vestales por fi, y los embaxadores yuan... > Les matrofnes & ieunes filles par foy. *Les vierges vestalles par foy*: & les ambaffadeurs alloiët... > The matrones and yonge maydens by them felfe, and the ambaffadours went... (Fol. 27). Die A. bewirkt eine Lücke im Sinn. — Die drei letzten Beispiele bekunden wieder Bern.s Neigung, die frz. Aufzählungen zu vereinfachen. — Affimesmo defque nacia la hija y la dauan al ama: > *Ainfi des que estoit nee la fille on la donnoit a la nourrice* / > ... to nouryshe (Fol. 17). — / trifte del reyno que lo espera: > Et triste et malheureux *qui les attend* / > Oh heuye and vnhappy realme (Fol. 12). — grecia la parlera defterro los parleros a roma: & roma la que bien obraua / defterro los buenos fabios a grecia. > *Greece la parleufe et menteufe a banny et enuoye les parleurs a Romme. Et Romme que bien ouuroit a banny & enuoye les bons fages a Grece* > in greece the lyers and ianglers are banyfhed, and hath sent them to Rome: and Rom hath banyfhed and sent the good wyfe men into Greece (Fol. 11). Durch die A. wird die sp.-frz. Antithese von Bern. zerstört. — De vn hijo muy querido que tenia Marco emperador por nombre veriffimo el qual se murio. > De vng filz fort ayme que auoit Marc empereur nomme Veriffimo *le quel luy mourut*. > Of the emperour Marcus sonne named Veriffimus (Fol. 8). Wiederum zeigt sich Bern.s Vorliebe für knappe Überschriften.

Einzelne Wörter. — Adjektive: fu hermano deste y muy malo > son frere et fort *mauluais* > his myghtye brother (Fol. 8). „Mauluais“ wird ausgelassen, und für das Adv. „fort“ tritt das Adj. „fort“ (> myghtye) ein. — / como es el que es virtuoso en lo secreto > *comme est celluy qui est vertueux en secret* > as it is of hym that is secrete (Fol. 24). Der adj. Begriff des Frz. wird ausgelassen und durch den Begriff der adv. Bestimmung

(adj. wiedergegeben) ersetzt, wodurch der Sinn gänzlich verändert wird.

Partikeln. — / nūca le vi fazer obra que no merecieffe por ella grauiffima pena. > iamaiz ne luy veiz faire oeuvre qui *ne* meritaft griefue peine. > I neuer sawe hym do dede, wherby he deserued to haue greuous peyn (Fol. 11). Die A. der Negation gibt dem Engl. eine Bedeutung, welche der des Sp. und Frz. entgegengesetzt ist. — por las verdades de entonces > pour celles (qui seroiēt) lors veritables. >, for them that shall be vertuous. (Fol. 19). — aqui fue capitán contra los barbaros por adriano mi señor / y Antonio mi suegro: > icy fut capitaine contre les Barbares pour Adrian mon seigneur / et Anthoine mon beau pere. > Here was capityne agaynst the Barbariens, to my lorde Adrian, Antonye my father in lawe (Fol. 1). Die klare sp. Konstruktion wird von Bert. wörtlich übernommen. Bern. verstand das subjektlose „fut“ nicht: er hielt es für fehlerhaft und machte durch die Auslassung von „et“ „Antony my father in lawe“ fälschlich zum Subjekt.

7) Auslassungen des Lord Berners von Hinzufügungen des Berthault.

Einzelne Wörter. — la conquista de los mas crudos enemigos > la conqueste & *gaing* de plus cruz et *petis* ennemys. > the conquest of the most cruell ennemys (Fol. 1). Beide Hinzufügungen dienen dem Bert. zur Parallelismenbildung. „Gaing“ ist eine Schlußfolgerung aus „conqueste“ und „petis“ steht in Antithese zu „cruz.“ Nur die beiden klarsten Ausdrücke, die aus dem Sp. stammen, werden von Bern. übernommen. — se hā de admitir > se doiuent *recevoir* et admettre. > as shulde be admytted (Fol. 12). — Die beiden letzten Beispiele zeigen, daß Bern. in manchen Fällen G. näher steht als Bert., und daß diese Annäherung an G. auf Kosten von Berts Parallelismen geschieht. Dieser Umstand bestätigt meine Vermutung, daß Bern. seine Übersetzung manchmal mit dem sp. Original verglichen habe.

c) Umgestaltungen.

α) Umgestaltungen des Berthault.

Sätze. — mirad que agora *le defetã* a mi hijo: > regardez que a ceste heure *quelle chose est conuenable* a mon filz / > Regarde as nowe, what thyng is moſte conuenable for my ſonne (Fol. 15). Der derb bildliche Ausdruck des Sp. wird im Frz. umschrieben. Dabei geht der Nachdruck des Sp. zum großen Teil verloren.

Wortgruppen. — que el dios jano que era dios de todos los tiempos *los ſacaria de toda premia* > q̄ le dieu Jano queſtoit dieu de tous les tēps *les remuneroit de double loyer*. > that the god Janus (which was god of tymes) wolde rewarde them double (Fol. 27). Der den Begriff des „Wegnehmens“ enthaltende sp. Ausdruck wird in einen frz. des „Zuerteilens“ verwandelt. — Acuerdome *cada año del dia* que me le dieron los dioſes: > Il me ſouuient *chascun iour de lannee* / *et du iour* que le me donnerent les dieux: > I thynke on euerye daye in the yere, and of the daye that the goddes haue gyuen me (Fol. 14). Das sp. „cada año“ wird von Bert. emphatischer mit „chascun iour de lannee“ wiedergegeben. Bern. überſieht das Objekt „le“ des Nebensatzes. Sein Sinn weicht inſolge Bert.s Änderung völlig vom Original ab. — criada *con tanta cordura* en mi palacio > a eſte nourrie *avec tant & ſi grãde vertu* en mon palais > brought vp in ſo great vertu in my palays (Fol. 22). „Vertu“ gibt nur annähernd „cordura“ wieder. — mario *cõ los rodanos*. > Marius *avec ceulx de la riuiere du Rin*. > Marcus was ſent to theym of the ryuer of Ryne. (Fol. 2). Durch die U. wird die Wiederholung des unmittelbar vorher gebrauchten „rhodiens“ umgangen. — *las entrañas dañadas* > *le cuer mauuais* > an ylle harte (Fol. 26). „Mauuais“ bringt einen (moralischen) Begriff hinzu, der in „dañadas“ nicht liegt.

Einzelne Wörter.

Substantive. — *diofes* > *dieu* > *god* (Fol. 17). Die U. bedeutet eine Verchristlichung, sie ist daher ein Stilfehler. — *Varon* con los *varones* > *baron* entre les *barons* > *A baron* amonge *barons* (Fol. 24). Bert. wählte „baron“ wegen der äußeren Ähnlichkeit mit „varon“, zeigt also Mangel an Verständnis des Sp. Dadurch entstand zugleich ein Stilfehler, indem ein aus dem Mittelalter stammender Begriff in das antikisierende Werk eingeführt wurde. — *fegū la ley de Ligurgo* > *felon la loy de lignage* > *after the lawe of lygnage* (Fol. 16). Die U. kann hier absichtlich vorgenommen worden sein; es scheint mir jedoch auch möglich, daß „Lyurgo“ in Bert.s sp. Exemplar undeutlich gedruckt war; und da dies Wort die gleiche Zahl Buchstaben wie „lygnage“ und noch dazu vier mit „lygnage“ gemein hat, könnte Bert. durch eine Verwechselung darauf gekommen sein. — *No ay cafo* > *Il n'est chose* > *There is nothyng* (Fol. 4). — *oficios* > *officiers* > *officers* (Fol. 8). — *sus sentidos* > *leurs sentemens* > *theyr owne iugementes* (Fol. 16). — *q̄ en el pefebre del coracō fe ha de ceuar* > *qui en l'intestine du cueur doit garder* > *which is the intestyne of the harte* (Fol. 13). Das poetische Bild des Sp. wird zu einem unästhetischen und unlogischen. — *ayos* > *vielz fages* > *wyfe and auncient men* (Fol. 9). Durch die U. wird zwar die Art von Erziehern bezeichnet, die M. A. für seinen Sohn haben wollte, der Sinn des Sp. jedoch nur annähernd wiedergegeben.

Adjektive. — si es *piadofo* | todos sō *clemētes*: > *fil est pitiable* tous sont *pitiables* > *yf he be pitiefull*, *all wyll haue pitie* (Fol. 7). Die richtige Entsprechung von „piadofo“ wäre „pieux“ gewesen. „Pitiable“, welches nur entfernt den Sinn des Sp. wiedergibt, mag wegen der größeren Ähnlichkeit mit „piadofo“ gewählt worden sein. Indem nun auch „clementes“ durch „pitiables“ wiedergegeben wird, ist zugleich eine Wortwiederholung erzielt. Bern. ersetzt zur Vermeidung der Wiederholung „pitiables“ durch

das entsprechende Subst. — *tan descuydados se mostraron* > *autant fouciez se sont monstrez* > as moche thought had they to conferue (Fol. 2). Die U. besteht in Umkehrung des Sinnes. — *por atreuido* > *pour entrepreneur & presum-tueux* > bycause he was wylfull and presumtuious (Fol. 3). Die U. entspricht dem Sinne des Sp. nicht völlig. — *callado* > *tempere & modere* > temperate and moderate (Fol. 7). — *Cansados* > *cassez et rompus* > olde and broken (Fol. 16). Der frz. Parallelismus aus zwei Synonymen deutet eine Folgerung aus dem sp. Begriffe an.

Verben. — *se escorescen* > *sesclaircissent* > is made bryghte (Fol. 10). Bert.s mangelhafte Kenntniss des Sp. verleitet ihn zu einer U., die das gerade Gegenteil bedeutet. — *empozo* > *empoisonna* > empoysoned (Fol. 8). — *inuerno* > *enuoyerent* > was sent (Fol. 2). In den letzten drei Fällen hat sich Bert. durch orthographische Ähnlichkeit zu fehlerhafter Übersetzung verleiten lassen. — *depende* > *de prèdre* > shall be spente (Fol. 26). — *paro* > *defaillit* > fayled (Fol. 23). — *apedreo* > *mourut et gela* > freefeth and dyethe (Fol. 9). „Apedreo“ wird auf eine Weinpflanzung bezogen. „Mourut“ ist eine begriffliche Folgerung aus „apedreo“, während „gela“ eine andere Ursache zu „mourut“ angibt. — *se despegasse* > *ie retirasse et despechasse* > refrayne (Fol. 6). Die Bildlichkeit der sp. Ausdrucksweise wird im Frz. vermieden. „Retirasse“ enthält einen mit „despegasse“ verwandten Begriff, von dem sich das — offenbar der äußeren Ähnlichkeit wegen gewählte — „despechasse“ vollständig entfernt. — *desplomando el juyzio de su señor* > *meprisant lentèdement de son seigneur* > *disprayinge theyr lordes vnderstandynge* (Fol. 29). Der bildliche Ausdruck des Sp. wird durch einen abstrakten abweichenden Sinnes ersetzt. — *visitado* > *visiter* > to vyfite (Fol. 27).

Partikeln. — *y por su policia* > & *par la pollice* > and by their polycie (Fol. 3). Bern. kehrt hier wieder zum Original zurück (!). — *mas por el merecimiento* >

• *mais pour le merciment* > but the merytes (Fol. 1). Die U. ist durch orthographische Ähnlichkeit veranlaßt.

β) Umgestaltungen des Lord Berners.

Sätze. — Quiero dezir que las voluntades profundas de los profundos coraçones / a vnos con dones / a otros con palabras / a estòs con promeßas / aquellos con faoures se las hemos de ganar. > *Je veulx dire q̄ les volũtez profõdes de cueurs profondz / aux vngs auecques dons / aux autres auec parolles / ceulx cy auecques promeßes & ceulx la auec faueurs no' les auons de guigner.* > *I promise you the depenesse of good wylls ought to be wonne with the depenesse of the harte*, some with giftes, some with wordes, some with promyses, and some with faouours (Fol. 28). Die U. ändert den Sinn völlig und macht die das Ganze schließende Aufzählung aus vier Gliedern, die ohne rechten Zusammenhang mit dem Vorhergehenden bleibt, überflüssig. Da ferner jedes Glied der Aufzählung einen spezielleren Sinn hat als „with the depenesse of the harte“, so tritt eine Abschwächung der stilistischen Kraft ein. — / y muchos mas hemos visto que aunque eran rectos en sus oficios en breue tiempo por ser austeros en sus condiciones ... > *Et beaucoup plus auons veu que encores q̄lz fussent droictz en leurs offices / en brief temps pour estre austeres en leurs conditions* ... > *And many mo we haue sene, that in a shorte whyle after they were put in office, haue ben so proude and happy in their condicions* (Fol. 24). Sinn völlig verändert! — Hazian muchas farfas los pantomimos: y muchos juegos los juglares. > */ faisant plusieurs farces les farceurs / et plusieurs ieux les ioueurs*: > ..., and made many playes of interludes, of gestes and iuglyng (Fol. 27). U. der Form und auch des Inhalts; der Sinn des Engl. entfernt sich durch die Hinzufügung des (mittelalterlichen) „interludes“ noch weiter vom Sp. — y se sentëcia por personas maduras > *et se sentencie par personnes meures* > and that we fynde moo sentences of

dyuers fadde perſonnes (Fol. 3). Der Sinn wird dadurch völlig verändert, daß bei der Umgeſtaltung des frz. Satzes für das reflexive Verb im Engl. das formell entſprechende Subst. (von gänzlich abweichender Bedeutung) eintritt. — *que mas facilmente oraua en griego q̄ efereuia en latin* > *que plus facilement ie haranguoye en Grec que ie neſcriſuoye en latin.* > *that I ſpake, and wrote greke more eaſily than latin* (Fol. 6). Willkürliche Änderung des Sinnes! — *El padre que muere dexando a ſu hijo pobre & ſabio / piēſe que le dexe mucho.* > *Le pere qui meurt laiſſant ſon filz poure et ſage / penſe q̄l luy laiſſe beaucoup.* > *ye maye thynke that the father that diethe and leauethe his ſonne poore and wyſe, that he leaueth to hym moche* (Fol. 4).

Wortgruppen. — *A ley de bueno* > *A loy d'homme de bien* > *To the praiſe of a good man* (Fol. 11). Die ſp. formelhaſte Wendung wird vom Sprecher M. A. auf ſich ſelbſt bezogen: er will damit die Aufmerkſamkeit und den Glauben ſeiner Zuhörer gewinnen. Die wörtliche frz. Übersetzung gibt das Sp. nicht genau wieder; ihr Sinn wirkt ſo unbeſtimmt, daß Bern. ihn fäſchlich auf „Crifippus“ bezieht, von dem M. A. eben geſprochen hat.

Einzelne Wörter.

Subſtantive. — *las riēdas* > *les refnes et bride* > *the brydell and reygne* (Fol. 13). „Reygne“ iſt von Bern. wegen der äußeren Ähnlichkeit mit „refnes“ an die Stelle des letzteren geſetzt. — *hijos propios* > *propres enfans* > *owne chylde* (Fol. 16). — *dar a ſus hijas* > *baillant ſes filles* > *orderynge and teachinge of his chyl dren* (Fol. 18). — *campos* > *champs* > *campe* (Fol. 6). — *vnas conchas en los braços* > *vne conque en facon de croufible en leurs bras* > *a tonge in maner of a cruſible on their armes* (Fol. 3). — *ſeñuelo* > *enſeigne* > *glaffe* [= Spiegel] (Fol. 7). — *los flamines veſtales* > *les ſacrez preſtres des Veſtalles* > *the holy nunnes veſtales* (Fol. 25). Ein Fall grober Untreue dem Original gegenüber und zugleich ein

Stilfehler! — muchas paffiones de las entrañas > plusieurs paffions des *entrailles* > many greues frō the *stomakes* (Fol. 30). Die engl. Entsprechung wirkt weniger ästhetisch; sie ist durch die häufig bei Bern. sich zeigende Ungeschicklichkeit in der Form hervorgerufen. — Los censores muy iustos > / les *cenfeurs* fort iustes / >: the *penalties* right iuste. (Fol. 4). Nomen agentis > res acta. — Si las yftorias . . . > Si les *hyftoires* . . . > If the *hystorians* (Fol. 8). Res acta > nomen agentis. — infultos > *insultes* > *frayes and murders* (Fol. 6). Das sp.-frz. Subst. wird zu einem Wortparallelismus, dessen Teile mögliche Folgerungen aus „insultes“ darstellen. — figlos > *siecles* > *heuens* (Fol. 17). Bern. ist offenbar durch die orthographische und lautliche Ähnlichkeit von „siecles“ mit „ciel“ auf „heuens“ gekommen, das übrigens in dem betr. Zusammenhange nicht unpassend ist. — muchas y muchas flaquezas > plusieurs *flaqueffes* et debilitez > many *fautes* and debilities (Fol. 15). Der Nachdruck, den im Sp. die Wiederholung von „muchas“ hervorruft, wird im Erz. durch einen synonymischen Parallelismus wiedergegeben. Durch die engl. U. fällt das Synonymische fort. — asperezas > *aspretez* > *maners* (Fol. 1). Diese U. ist eine von jenen Verallgemeinerungen, die sonst häufiger bei Bert. als bei Bern. vorkommen. — penfamientos > *penfemens* > *magnifycence* (Fol. 2).

Mario > *Marius* > *Marcus* (Fol. 2). Diese (nicht ganz unpassende) U. ist vielleicht in Anlehnung an den Namen des Helden erfolgt. — Euticio. Annio. Macriō. Caninio erodiatico > / *Euticio Anio Macrion* / *Caninio erodiatico* / > *Euticius, Anius Macrion, Caninius, Erodiaticus* (Fol. 8). Die U. durch mangelhafte Interpunktion hervorgerufen!

Verben. — Pregũto vos > Je vo' *demande* > *Iaſcertaine* you (Fol. 14). — Porque el fabio / folo q̄ le den el pie . . . > Car le sage / encor que lon luy *baille* feulement le pied / > For if a wyſe man haue but one fote . . .

(Fol. 4). — *se tiene*. > *se mantient*. > *releueth hym selfe*.
 (Fol. 4). Diese U. durch den Sinn des Ganzen bestimmt. —
porque no se sufre > *carne se seuffre* > *I am abashed*
that... (Fol. 24). — *le duro* > *leur dura* > *endured* amonge
them (Fol. 29). — *se iatauan* > *se vantoient* > *they were*
accompted (Fol. 1). — *porque tiempo le queda harto* >
parce que luy demeurera assez temps > *if he see tyme*
 (Fol. 15). — *y el hōbre simple...* aun no tropecando
cae. > *Et l'homme simple...* / *encores non deualant trop en*
basses chet. > *The vnwitty perfone...* not greatly *decayed*,
falleth downe. (Fol. 4). — */ ni razon le encamina /* > *ni*
raison ne ladresse / > *nor reddressed by reafone* (Fol. 5).

F. Diktion des Lord Berners.

Die Prosa des G.B. ist erzählend und belehrend zugleich. Als Prosa eines biographischen Romanes ist sie erzählend, und in den vielen moralisierenden Reden und Briefen des Helden ist sie belehrend.

a) Mittel, die Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen.

Antithese.

Sowohl im volkstümlichen wie im Kunststil ist die Antithese das wirkungsvollste Mittel, die Aufmerksamkeit auf etwas zu lenken. Die Beliebtheit von G.s Stil im 16. Jhdt. ist vor allem seiner antithetischen Kraft zuzuschreiben. G.s Antithesen sind durch Berts Vermittlung von Bern. meist treu wiedergegeben worden. Sie sind im G.B. äußerst zahlreich und verleihen, in Verbindung mit den noch zahlreicheren Parallelismen, der ganzen Diktion ihr eigentümliches Gepräge.

„Amonge fooles wife men do fhyne“ (Fol. 10). — „What profyttethe, if her maystresse teache her sadeneffe and honestie with her wordes: and we entice her lewdeness with our workes and dedes“ (Fol. 18, 19). — „the vertuous perfone

stemeth not the glorie of his vertue so great, as the malitious person by his malice is shamed“ (Fol. 27). — „He was as happye in vertuouse sonnes in lawe, as greattely infortunate of dyfhonest doughters“ (Fol. 19). — „Fayninge ioye and myrthe outwardely kepyng the sorowe within“ (Fol. 9). — Die letzten vier Beispiele zeigen die Antithese im Parallelismus, wie sie im G.B. am häufigsten ist. — Auf M. A.s Wahl seiner Schwiegersöhne bezieht sich auch: „he chose none that were very ryche but suche as were vertuous: nor suche as were soone moued, but suche as were quiete: not the hyghe mynded: but to the moderate that where no boasters but shamefast: noo bablers, but small speakers: no quarrellers, but sufferers: not to presumtuious, but to theym that were meke: not to hafty men but to theym that were pacient: not to theym that were esteemed amonge the commons, but unto theym that deserued laude amonge wise men“ (Fol. 19). Lehrreiches Beispiel für kunstvolle Verwendung der Antithese in einem längeren Satzparallelismus.

Die Antithese ist im G.B. besonders dadurch wichtig, daß sie, wie im Folgenden gezeigt werden wird, mit den anderen Diktionsmitteln im engsten Zusammenhange steht.

Inversion.

Die Invers. ist, im Gegensatze zur Antithese, ein rein formales Mittel, die Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen. Sie kommt bei Bern. häufiger vor als bei G., da Bern. durch sein Streben nach getreuer Wiedergabe mancher eigentlich nur dem Sp. und Frz. eigentümlichen Wortstellung zu Inversionen gezwungen wird, z. B.: „o insignia imperial“ > „ou manteau imperial“ > „and mantelle imperial“ (Fol. 27). — Interessant ist folgender Fall: „Ya fabras como aqui fue capitan contra los barbaros por adriano mi señor / y Antonio mi fuego por espacio de quinze años“: > „Ja scaurais comme icy fut cappitaine contre les Barbares pour Adrian mon seigneur / et Anthoine mon beau pere par lespace de quinze ans.“ > „Here was capityne agaynste

the Barbariens, to my lorde Adrian, *Antonye* my father in lawe, the fpace of XV yeres:“ (Fol. 1). Das Fehlen des pronominalen Subjekts (bezogen auf M.A.s Vater) im Frz. verleitete Bern. zu einer durch Auslassung von „et“ bewirkten Inversion, die einen vom Sp. und Frz. völlig abweichenden Sinn ergibt.

Frage.

Die Frage ist im G.B. sehr wichtig, um die durch Antithesen und Parallelismen andauernd in Anspruch genommene Aufmerksamkeit plötzlich wieder auf den Inhalt der langen Reden des M.A. zu lenken.

„What remedie for this?“ (Fol. 15). — „What wyll ye that I say more“ (Fol. 14). Solche Fragen kommen sehr häufig vor als rhetorischer Abschluß eines Teiles der moralisierenden Rede, die nach dieser Unterbrechung wieder aufgenommen wird. — „Do you not knowe what shame it is to make the disciples of foles maisters of princis?“ (Fol. 10). Dies ist das dritte Glied eines Parallelismus aus sechs Fragen: Wir haben hier ein typisches Beispiel für die im G.B. sehr wirkungsvolle Verbindung von Antithese und Frage.

Ausruf.

Der Ausruf gehört mehr dem erregten Stil an und ist daher im G.B. verhältnismäßig selten.

„Oh heuye and unhappy realme that abydeeth for theym, and ye cruell, that commaundeth theym.“ (Fol. 12). — „O howe often haue I fene in our tyme nowe and haue redde of the worlde paffed, the whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at an other tyme by theyr yll workes haue deferued hit“ (Fol. 22). Die Wirkung des Ausrufs wird hier, wie oft im G.B., durch die langen Perioden, die sich anschließen, abgeschwächt.

Anrede.

Oft werden im G.B. andere Diktionsmittel durch eine Anrede eingeleitet, wodurch deren Wirkung abgeschwächt wird. Nicht selten sind Anreden wie die folgenden: „Tell me, I pray the“ (Fol. 79). — „Ryght dere lorde, I demaunde of you“ (Fol. 72). — „And fyrs repute it not smalle“ (Fol. 14). — „Tell me, why do ye dyffymule as a wyfe manne“ (Fol. 18).

b) Mittel, die Aufmerksamkeit zu befriedigen.

α) Mittel des Nachdrucks.

Parallelismus.

Zu den Parallelismen rechne ich alle Gedanken und Einzelbegriffe, die in der gleichen grammatischen Form aneinander gereiht werden. Neben der Antithese ist der Parallelismus das wichtigste Diktionsmittel des G.B. Er ist im G.B. von größter Bedeutung, um die besonders durch die vielen Antithesen erregte Aufmerksamkeit zu befriedigen. Dieses Verhältnis von Antithese und Parallelismus bildet in seiner konsequenten Durchführung den Kern der guevaristischen Diktion. — Der Parallelismus hat im G.B. den allgemeinsten Charakter, da er der Träger der anderen Stilmittel ist.

Die Wortparallelismen, welche bei G. bereits vorkommen, nehmen bei Bert. durch Neubildung beträchtlich zu, wodurch eine Schwellung der Diktion entsteht, welche die Hauptabweichung im Stil der frz. Übersetzung bildet.

Auf die Gefahren, die der Verkehr mit Frauen mit sich bringt, bezieht sich: „If a man loue theym not they count hym as a villayne: yf he loue them they thynke hym lyghte: yf he leaue theym, they repute hym for a cowarde: yf he folowe them, he is lofte, yf he serue theym he is not regarded, yf he serue them not, he fshall be hated of theym, yf he wylle haue theym they wylle not haue hym: yf he desyre

theym not, they wylle feeke on hym: yf he haunte theym, he is ylle named: yf he haunte theym not they reken hym no man:“ (Fol. 11). Typisches Beispiel dafür, wie der Parallelismus der Wirkung der erregenden Mittel entgegenarbeitet! — „O ye Romans, sayd this vyllayn, what action haue ye, that are brought vppe nygh to the ryuer of Thyber, agaynst vs, that are nygh to the ryuer of Danubie? Haue ye fene vs frendes to your ennemyes? or haue we declared vs your ennemyes? or haue ye harde say, that we haue lefte our owne lande, and inhabyted any straunge londes? or haue ye harde, that we haue rebelled ageynste our lordes, or haue troubled any straunge realmes? or haue yet sente vs any ambaffadours, to delyre vs to be your frendes or hath any hofte of ours come to Rome to distroye you, as our enmies? or hath any kynge dyed in oure realme? that in his testamēt made you heys to our realme? or what antyke lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought for te be youre subiectes?“ (Fol. 15). Antithesen und zehn rhetorische Fragen erregen hier die Aufmerksamkeit, die durch Parallel. und anaphorische Wortwiederholungen befriedigt wird. — „The goddis to me and I to you do gyue hym mortall to be as a manne, and than you to me, and I to the goddis do render hym immortal to be wyfe.“ (Fol. 14). Typischer Fall von einfacherem Satzparallelismus mit Wiederholung und Antithese. — „ye vndertoke to make a new warre agaynste the Parthes, to continue the enmitie agaynst the Peniens, and to marie .V. hundred matrones of Rome to .V. C. knyghtes of Mauritanie“ (Fol. 21). Parallel. aus Satzteilen mit einfacher Allit., mit einer Wiederholung und ohne Mittel zur Erregung der Aufmerksamkeit. — „Greke, or latyn, . . . fame into shame, iustice into wrōg, ryght into tyranny, or trouth into lesyng, the certayne into vncertayne“ (Fol. 53). Ein Parallelismus aus Antithesen (Reim!).

Aufzählung.

Die Aufzählung läßt sich betrachten als eine Art Parallelismus, aus mindestens drei Wörtern derselben Wortklasse oder aus mindestens drei dieselbe Wortklasse vertretenden Wortgruppen gebildet. — „vnto this Marcus Aurelius, haue paffed .XVII. emperours which were Julius, Octavius, Tyberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellus, Vaspafianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nerua, Traianus, Adrianus, Anthonius and Aurelius.“ (Fol. 8). — „We haue not by any autentike histories, from whens, whan, or howe, in what maner, or in what exereyses, or with what perfons, or in what londe was spent and consumed the mooste parte of the lyfe of this good emperour.“ (Fol. 2). Dieses Beispiel zeigt den Übergang von der Aufzählung aus Wörtern zu der aus Wortgruppen, welche beide dieselbe grammatische Funktion haben.

Wiederholung.

Auch die Wiederholung kann als eine Art Parallelismus betrachtet werden. Im G.B. werden hauptsächlich wiederholt: Gedanken und Begriffe einerseits, Wortgruppen, Wörter und einzelne (Laute) Buchstaben andererseits.

Gedanken. — „it tourned the feafte to wepynges, the pleasures into forowes.“ (Fol. 25). Satz wiederholung wenn auch formal nicht vollständig, da das Verbum das zweite Mal nur mitgedacht wird. — „La ... falta ... es fer cortos de verdades.“ > „La ... faulte ... cest destre espargneur de verite et *neftre veritable*.“ > „The ... faute ... is to spare the trouthe, and not to be veritable.“ (Fol. 15). Satz wiederholung: auch hier wird das Verbum mitgedacht.

Begriffe. — „coloffenfes“ > „Coloffenfes & *Rodiens*.“ > „Colloffences and Rodyans;“ (Fol. 2). — „famofos“ > „fameux et *renomez*.“ > „famous and renowned.“ (Fol. 3).

Wortgruppen. — „at another tyme by theyr yll workes haue deserued hit, at another tyme by theyr forrowfull deftenies.“ (Fol. 22).

Wörter. — „the yll intentions of them that be ylle.“ (Fol. 24). — „The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis with them ý be good as the vice & difhoneftie of euyl folkes is in euyl thinges:“ (Fol. 25). Parallelismus aus zwei Sätzen, welche durch Wiederholung von „thinges“ stilistisch verbunden sind und von welchen jeder eine eigene adjektivische Wiederh. besitzt, die antithetisch zu der entsprechenden Wiederh. im anderen Gliede des Parallelismus gesetzt ist. Dies zeigt, mit welcher Kunst die Wortwiederholungen in engem Zusammenhang mit anderen Diktionsmitteln im G.B. verwendet werden. — „this good emperour was fo ioyous of vifage, foo amyable in his customes, foo louyng in his conuerfation“ (Fol. 24). Auch die begriffliche Verwandtschaft von „ioyous“, „amyable“ und „louyng“ trägt dazu bei, die Aufmerksamkeit zu befriedigen.

Alliteration.

Eine Wiederholung ist auch die Allit. Sie ist dasjenige Diktionsmittel, das bei Bern. den stärksten Zuwachs erfährt. Bereits im Sp. kommen Alliterationen vor, im Frz. werden sie häufiger. Oft nimmt im Sp. und Frz. der Reim die Stelle der Allit. ein.

Spanische Alliterationen, die sich im Frz. und Engl. erhalten haben. — „fi quereys en paz poffeer lo vuestro“ > „fi voulez en paix poffeder le vostre propre“ > „yf that ye wyll in peace poffeffe your owne“ (Fol. 45). Die Erhaltung der sp. Allit. im Frz. und Engl. sowie das Schwinden des im Frz. hinzugefügten *p* von „propre“ sind durch wörtliche Übersetzung bedingt. — „A nuestro principe fi la fallo la fortuna: ne le fallo la cordura“ > „A nostre prince se luy deffault la fortune ne luy deffault la vertu et vaillance.“ > „All though our prynce wāt good fortune, yet his worthy vertues fayle not:“ (Fol. 51). Die englische Allit. *f...f*, die hier die beiden Glieder des Parallelismus verbindet, ebenfalls durch wörtliche Übersetzung hervorgerufen! Bern.s Allit. *w...w* bildet nun

mit der aus dem Sp. und Frz. stammenden Reihe *f...f* die gekreuzte Allit. *w...f...w...f*.

Alliterationen, zu deren Bildung das Sp. nur den Anlaß gab. — „yo doy gracias a mis dioses de mis buenos hados:“ > „Je donne graces a mes dieux de mon bon heur“ > „I yelde and gyue great graces to my goddes of my good happe“ (Fol. 30). Der Allit. *d...d* im Sp. und Frz. entspricht die durch Übersetzung erzeugte Reihe *g...g...g...g...g* im Engl. Bern. fügte „great“ hinzu, um ein weiteres *g* für die alliterierende Reihe zu gewinnen. — „Al corazon lastimado pregonan los fofpiros muy lastimosos: y a las entrañas dañadas las descubren palabras muy maliciosas.“ > „Les foupieres triftes demöftrët la bleceure du cu cuer / & les polles fort malicieufes descourët la mauuaiftie du cuer.“ > „The forwfulle fyghes fhewe the hurte of the harte, and the malicious wordes discouer the yll of the harte.“ (Fol. 26). — Die sp. alliterierende Reihe *l...p...l...d...d...p* und die frz. *d...c...m...d...m...c* weisen beide eine gewisse Regelmäßigkeit auf. Zieht man in der letzteren die durch Wortwiederholung hervorgerufene Allit. ab, so bleibt die Reihe *d...m...d...m*, die Landmann als Typus der gekreuzten Allit. angibt, welche für ihn ein Hauptzug des Guevarismus und des Euphuismus ist.¹⁾

Frz. Alliterationen, die im Engl. erhalten bleiben. — „pretor“ > „preuoft et preteur“ > „prouofte and pretour“ (Fol. 2). — „monftruofa“ > „merueilleufe & monstreufe“ > „meruaylous and monftrous“, (Fol. 3).

Alliterationen englischen Ursprungs. Einfache Allit. — „merefcio con veynte y dos puñaladas perder la vida.“ > „merita auecques vingt et trois coups de pognard perdre la vie.“ > „he merited to lese his lyfe with XXIII strokes of penkniues.“ (Fol. 30). Bert. gibt durch wörtliche Übersetzung die sp. Allit. wieder, und Bern. kommt in gleicher Weise zu seiner *l...l* Allit. — „where my bones

¹⁾ Vgl. Landmann, S. XVII.

shall be brente“ (Fol. 17). — „if the daughter deserue chastyfement“ (Fol. 19). — „the desyre, whiche wyl not be despleased with his yl doinges“ (Fol. 22). — „Regarde well my frendes, and forgette nat“ (Fol. 15). — „Fauftine all fearefulle seing the father“ (Fol. 19). — „they muse . . . vppon a . . . fowle, made of fethers, than thoughe it were of fleffhe, and yet at the fyrste flyght“ (Fol. 7). — „The greattest goodnes off all goodnes“ (Fol. 25). — „by the grace and gyfte of god“ (Fol. 19). — „home to his howse.“ (Fol. 17). — „it leseth the lybertie“ (Fol. 7). — „in largesse of lyes“ (Fol. 15). — „multitude of men“ (Fol. 22). — „to couete goodes that be in the pourse, and not to examyne the personne“ (Fol. 19). — „not to fuche as were presumtuons of the prowes and dedes of theyr predeceffours“ (Fol. 19). — „the reyne of reasone“ (Fol. 15) — „that ye send so simple psons“ (Fol. 54). — „yf his werkes be as your wordes“ (Fol. 22). — „the reporte of the wyse men, it was no lesse vertuous by the wyfedome and worthynes of the emperour“ (Fol. 10).

Regelmäßig verteilte Allit. außer der einfachen Reihe. — „Aborrecia mucho a amas regaladas: y amaua las labradoras rusticas y fanas.“ > „abhoreffoit les nourriffes q̄ fussent delicates ny mignones & aymoît laboureuses rustiques & saines“ > „He hated delycate and gaye nourfes, and they that were laborous homely and holfome he loued“ (Fol. 17). Im Sp. haben wir die Allit. *r . . . r*; im Frz. fehlt Allit. Bern. übertrug „rustiques“ durch „homely“, um ein weiteres *h* für die durch wörtliche Übersetzung entstandene Reihe *h . . . l . . . h . . . l . . .* zu gewinnen. Es kommt ihm also mehr auf die Menge als auf die regelmäßige Verteilung der Alliterationen an. — „The garmente that to so many persons must weare, must be wyfely cut“ (Fol. 23) — „the greatteste vyllanye in a vyllanye is to be gyuen in largesse of lyes.“ (Fol. 15). — „of the small grauitie of the mayster /pryngeth great boldenes“ (Fol. 16); „amonge the chylde of vanitie, to chylde the vices of them that be

vycyous“ (Fol. 26). Diese beiden Fälle sind für die sogenannte gekreuzte Allit. bezeichnend. Diese kommt im G.B. zwar hie und da vor; ist jedoch kein typischer Zug des guevaristischen Stils, wie Landmann behauptet¹⁾. — „Of trouthe the *cheftain trees* bringe forth the *softe fwete cheftnut* out of the *sharpe prickinge* and *hard hufke*“ (Fol. 16). — „as the *cooles canne* not be in the *embres* without *sparkis*, nor *corruption* of the *carion* without *ftenche*: no more can he that *hath a hole* and *clere herte* be“ (Fol. 26).

Die Beispiele lassen zur Genüge erkennen, wie reichlich im G.B. die Allit. sowohl in einfachen wie in kunstvollen Reihen vertreten ist.

Reim.

Bei dem größeren Reichtum des Sp. und Frz. an vollen Endungen gegenüber dem Engl. ist es begreiflich, daß im G.B. die Reime an Zahl bedeutend geringer sind als bei Bert. und G., der den Reim außerordentlich häufig in seinen Satzparallelismen verwendet. Dafür tritt im Engl. an die Stelle des Reimes häufig die Alliteration. — „Ellos *callãdo* & *obrando* nos dexarõ *exêplos* de *admiracion*: & los *fabios* de *ahora dezimos* en *publico*: y *escriuimos* en *secreto* *doctrinas* de *perdicion*.“ > „Eulx en *taisant* et *ourant* nous ont *laiffe* *exemples* *dadmiracion*: Et les *sages* de a *ceste* *heure* nous *difons* en *public* et *escriuons* en *secreto* *doctrines* de *perdition*.“ > „Theyr *fewe* *wordes* and *good* *werkes* haue *leste* vs *example* of *great admyration*. And the *wyfe* *men* of this *tyme* *teache* vs *openly*, and *write* vs *secrete*ly *doctrines* of *pardition*.“ (Fol. 11). Von den Reimen des Sp. haben nur zwei im Frz. genaue Entsprechungen, während im Engl. nur die Reime am Ende der beiden Glieder des ganzen Parallelismus übrig bleiben; das andere frz. Reimpaar fehlt im Engl., welches aber dafür die Allit. *w...w* besitzt. Die wirkungsvollsten Reime in der guevaristischen Prosa sind die aus Gliedern eines Parallelismus, wie sie sich hier bis ins Engl. hinein erhalten haben. — „*fame* into *fhame*“ (Fol. 53).

¹⁾ Landmann, S. XVII.

β) Mittel der Anschaulichkeit.

Die Befriedigung der Aufmerksamkeit durch Anschaulichkeit tritt im G. B. an stilistischer Bedeutung sehr hinter der durch Nachdruck zurück.

Apposition.

Sie dient gewöhnlich dazu, ein vorangehendes Nomen durch Ausmalung zu veranschaulichen, spielt aber im G. B. keine große Rolle. — „Verona linda dama“ > „Veronne belle dame“ > „Veronne a fayre lady“ (Fol. 67). — „mafiniffa noble cauallero numidano“ > „Mafiniffa noble cheualier de Numedie“ > „Mafiniffa a worthy knyght of Numedie.“ (Fol. 67). — „Anthonio pio el emperador fuegro que fue de Marco Aurelio.“ > „Anthoine le pitiable empereur beaupere de Marc Aurele“ > „Anthony the meke father in lawe to Marcus Aurelius.“ (Fol. 47).

Schmückendes Adjektiv.

Dieses für die Diktion so wichtige Veranschaulichungsmittel wird im G. B. oft verwendet. Am wirkungsvollsten ist es in antithetischer Verwendung, z. B.: „the cheftain trees bringe forth the softe fwete cheftnut out of the fharpe prickinge and harde hufke: ... among the fwete softe leaues is nourifhed the hard nutte“ (Fol. 16). Dieser Verwendung kommt an Wirkung am nächsten diejenige, wo das schmückende Adj. das eine Glied einer Antithese ausmalt: „Whā fomer cometh the cold wynter ceafeth:“ (Fol. 66). Der sonst am meisten übliche Gebrauch des schmückenden Adj. wie in: „he was vexed with hote feurs“ (Fol. 48); „the greuouse hurthe and domage“ (Fol. 63) ist im G. B. nicht so häufig wie im epischen Stile. Zahlreich und ebenso wirksam sind die schmückenden Adj. in Wortparallelismen neben einem sinnverwandten oder synonymischen determinierenden Adj., z. B.: „not to be more lyght and foolyfhe, but to be more fadde and vertuous“ (Fol. 65); „the good and vertuous women“

(Fol. 63); „these yll and wycked women“ (Fol. 63); „they kepe themfelfe clofe and secrete“ (Fol. 63); „wel loued and cheryshed with his mother“ (Fol. 15).

Gleichnis.

Das Gleichnis ist ein ausgeführter Vergleich; es deutet nicht nur an, wie dieser, sondern malt vollständig aus, ohne daß, wie bei der Metapher, eine Identifizierung des Vergleichungs- und des verglichenen Begriffes stattfände. Der einfache Vergleich ist im G. B. nicht so häufig wie das Gleichnis. Dieses wird in Verbindung mit dem Parallelismus im G. B. sehr wirkungsvoll benutzt. G.'s Gleichnisse stammen aus der unbelebten Natur, aus dem Pflanzen- und Tierreich, aus dem Menschenleben. Es kommen auch Gleichnisse vor aus der unnatürlichen Naturkunde, die aber verhältnismäßig selten sind.

Unbelebte Natur. „Whan ye take the wood fro the fyre, it leueth brennyng. Whā somer cometh, the cold wynter ceaffeth; whā thee fee is caulme, the waues leaue theyr vehement mouyng: whan the sonne is sette, it shyneth not the worlde. I wyl say that than, and not before, the fleshe wyll cefte to peyn vs, when it is layd in the graue.“ (Fol. 66). G. veranschaulicht hier eine Behauptung über einen natürlichen Vorgang durch mehrere andere vorangestellte Naturvorgänge.

Pflanzenreich. Diese sind die häufigsten Gleichnisse des G. B.: „Frendes ougt to be as molberies that in suche tyme produceth theyr beries, which is theyr fruite, that they feare not the frostes of Maye, as the vynes doo: nor the mystes of Octobre, as the peches and quinces doo.“ (Fol. 13)¹⁾. — „The vices in a womā is as a grene rede,

¹⁾ „Los amigos hā de ser como los morales: q̄ en tal tiēpo dā las moras (q̄ son fus frutas) q̄ ni temē eladas de mayo como viñas: ni ventisq̄ros de octubre como mēbrillos. > Les amys doiuent estre come les meuriers qui en telz tēps produysent les meures qui est leur fruit qui ne craignent les geles de may comme les vignes (ne les bruynes doctobre) cōme les coings ou cognasses.“

that boweth euerye waye: but the libertie and difhonestie is as a drye kyre that breaketh“ (Fol. 64). Parallelismus aus zwei zu einander in Antithese stehenden Gleichnissen. — „By the floures the fruites are knowen, and the vines in burgenyng: . . . and in the youthe the yonge man is knowen.“ (Fol. 77).

Tierreich. — „The emperour of Rome is lyke to a spyder that is in the myddes of her webbe. For yf the sayde coppe webbe be touched with the poynte of a nedell, forthwith the spyder feleth hit. I meane that all the werkes of the emperour in Rome benne streyghte waye knowen in all the erthe.“ (Fol. 30).

Menschenleben. — „Than this emperour as a fhyppmayfter, saylyng in mooft fayre and calme wether, forecastethe, and is in great thoughte and feare of tempestes an stornes to comme in the feastes.“ (Fol. 58). Regenten werden häufig im G. B. als Schiffssteuermänner dargestellt. — „there be some women so brittle, that as glasse with a fyllop¹⁾ wyll breke, and wyl flyp with a lytel myre.“ (Fol. 68). Dies ist eins der vielen Gleichnisse, die G. dem täglichen Leben entnahm.

Antike. — „Carthage was neuer so enuyronned with Scipions, as the howse of a faire woman is with lyghte perfones.“ (Fol. 70). — Die Vergleiche und Gleichnisse aus der antiken Geschichte sind im G. B. äußerst zahlreich. Häufig werden eine ganze Reihe von kurzen antiken Geschichten als Gleichnisse verwertet.

Metapher.

Die Metaphern des G. B. sind dem Meere, dem Pflanzen- und Tierreich, sowie dem Menschenleben entnommen.

Meer. — G. s. Heimatsort liegt in der Nähe des Meeres, daher ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn er so oft die See zur Veranschaulichung heranzieht. — M. A. sagt sterbend

¹⁾ de vn papirote > dune chiquenaude.

von seinem Tode: „scappyng fro the fee I fe my felfe at a good fure porte“ (Fol. 83) und bedauert, daß er Commodus unter so großen Gefahren zurücklasse: „For as .yet he knoweth not howe to aduenture to fayle on the fee:“ (Fol. 83). Diese bildliche Darstellung des Lebens als eines Meeres ist bei G. außerordentlich beliebt. — In der Einleitung zu seiner Rede, in der er Panutius auseinandersetzt, warum er sterbend so traurig sei, sagt M. A.: „what turment ought to be in the fee of my harte, whan fuche tremblynges and motions of erthe and reynes fet in the erthe of my body.“ (Fol. 77).

Pflanzenreich. — M. A. ist besorgt wegen seines Sohnes: „he fhall goo out of the ryght waye, and wander in the buffhes and thornes of vices.“ (Fol. 77). — Nach der Rede des Donaubauern sagt M. A. zu seinen Freunden mit Bezug auf den Bauern: „what kernell of a nut . . . what grayne of strawe, what rose of thornes“ (Fol. 56).

Tierreich. — „The playe is fuche a vyce, that who so euer it bytethe, it is lyke the bytynge of a madde dogge.“ (Fol. 15). Dies gehört zu den Anweisungen, die M. A. den Erziehern des Commodus gibt. Besonders legt er ihnen nahe, Commodus vor der Fleischeslust zu bewahren: „Let not yet goo the reyne. For if he fee the yonge mares he wyll neigh or braye if he see tyme.“ (Fol. 15). Diese metaphorische Bezeichnung eines jungen Mannes als eines Hengstes oder die eines Mannes als eines Pferdes ist im G. B. sehr beliebt.

Menschenleben. — Vom Leben sagt M. A.: „feruâtes, whā they fe the goyng out of the cādel of lyfe, care not for the clēfing of theyr lordes vyces“ (Fol. 76)¹⁾. — Auf die verschiedene Wertschätzung der geistigen Güter durch Weise und durch Toren bezieht sich: „that that is

¹⁾ „los criados quando veen que se acaba la candela de la vida a sus señores: no curā de espauilar los vicios“ > „les seruiteurs quant voyēt q̄ se acheue la chandelle de la vie a leurs seigñrs non cure de nottoyer les vices.“

meale with philosophers, is eaten but for branne and chaf with simple folk: and contrarye wif the meale of the fymples, is but branne & chaffe amonge wif men“ (Fol. 21). — Von ehrenwerten Frauen sagt M.A. zu Faustine „theyr fhamefastnes and kepyng clofe, ben arowes in defence of our honeftie.“ (Fol. 69). — Dem Commodus gibt der sterbende M.A. folgende Definition der Tugend: „Vertue is a strong caftel, and can neuer be wonne: it is a riuer where nedeth no rowing, a fee that moueth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that neuer hath ende, an army neuer overcome, a burden that neuer werieth, a fpie that euer retourneth, a fyne that neuer deceyueth, a playne waye that neuer fayleth, a fyrope that healeth forthwith: and a renoume that neuer peryfheth“ (Fol. 88)¹⁾. Das Beispiel zeigt, wie reichlich dieser Tropus im G.B. vertreten ist, und vor allem, wie auch er vom Parallelismus getragen wird, wodurch die Aufmerksamkeit in noch höherem Maße befriedigt wird. Wir sehen ferner, wie die vom Sp. abweichenden Metaphern durch das Frz. sich im Englischen entwickelt haben. Diese und andere Reihen von Metaphern scheinen zufällig aneinandergereiht zu sein. Eine nähere Betrachtung zeigt aber, daß die Stellung ihrer Glieder vielfach durch begriffliche Verwandtschaft bedingt ist. — M.A. sagt: „yf I knewe that there were fhops of ſciēces, as there is of other marchaundife, I wol gyue al y I haue, only to lerne, that a wif man lerneth in one day.“ (Fol. 52). — G.s Vorliebe für den Sport, die ihn zu Jagdmetaphern veranlaßte, mag ihn dazu geführt haben, auch das Ballspiel metaphorisch zu verwenden: „there is nothing that more rechaceth the balle of

¹⁾ „La virtud es alcazar que nunca se toma, rio que no le vadean, mar que no se nauega, fuego que nunca se mata... atalaya que no se engaña, camino que no se siente...“ > „La vertu cest vng chasteau fort qui jamais se peult prendre / vne riuiere qui ne se nauigue point / mer qui ne ſefmeult / feu qui ne se tue ... vne enſeigne qui ne trompe iamais / chemin qui eſt plain et ne peut faillir...“

the thought (in this playe) thanne the hande fette at worke therwith“ (Fol. 69).¹⁾ — Selbst dem boshafte[n] Treiben der Kinder entnahm G. Metaphern: „atrauieffa el pie de malas costübres dôde todos tropieçẽ > gette en trauers le pied de mauuais exêple ou tous trefbuchêt. > casteth backwarde his fote of euyll exauple, wherby all other enuerthrowe.“ (Fol. 7).

Derartige Veränderungen wie auch Auslassungen und Hinzufügungen von Metaphern, sind bei Bern. nicht selten, ohne daß er dabei indes stilistische Gewandtheit bewiese. Bert. hingegen übernimmt gewöhnlich G.s Metaphern wörtlich; die Abweichungen, die man bei ihm findet, rühren meist von Übersetzungsfehlern her, z. B.: „La corte ... no es... fino: ... vn mefon de vagabundos“ > „la court ... nest finon vne *maison* de vagabondz“ > „The courte ... is nothing but ... a *house* of vacaboundes“ (Fol. 88): Bert. hat sich bei der Wiedergabe von „mefon“ durch „maison“ wieder von der äußeren Wortähnlichkeit verführen lassen und dadurch die sp. Metapher gänzlich verändert. — \bar{q} en l pefebre del coracõ fe ha de ceuar“ > „qui en *linstefine* du cueur doit garder“ > „whiche is the *intestyne* of the harte“ (Fol. 13). Die frz.-engl. Umgestaltung der sp. Metapher wirkt unästhetisch. — Beseitigt ist die sp.-frz. Metapher in Fällen wie den folgenden: „todos... fienten la herida: quando en el coraçon esta ya presa la yerua“ > „tous... sentent la bleffeur quant dedaĩs le cueur est defia la poison“ > „they wyll not beleue the poyson therof, tyll it be at theyr hartes“ (Fol. 88). — „ver \bar{q} se acaba la noche de mi vida“ > „veoir que se acheue la nuyct de ma vie“ > „to see the ende of this nyghte“ (Fol. 87); „Pero pues la paffion de la carne en tal caso da de coces a la razõ > Mais puis \bar{q} la paffion

¹⁾ „no ay cosa que mas rechace en este juego la pelota del pensamiento / que es la mano puesta en la obra“ > „il ny a chose que plus rechasse (en ce ioucq) la pelotte du pensement queft la main mise en loeure“.

dōne tant de coups de pied a la raifon > but fyth that *paſſion repugneth* ſo moche at reaſon (Fol. 68). — Seltener iſt es, daß Bern. eine Metapher bildet, wo er im Frz. keine fand, und wenn er dies tut, geſchieht es mehr aus mangelndem Verſtändnis des Frz.

Allegorie.

Die Allegorie iſt eine ausgedehnte Metapher. Ihr häufiges Vorkommen im G. B. iſt auf die Neigung des G. zurückzuführen, ſeine Diktion möglichſt reich zu geſtalten. G.s Allegorien ſind denſelben Quellen entnommen wie ſeine Metaphern. Ihre veranſchaulichende Wirkung überholt noch die der Metaphern, wenn auch die Ausmalung oft zu weit getrieben wird.

Die Allegorie iſt im G. B. ein treffliches Mittel, die Abſtufung einer oder mehrerer leidenschaftlicher Regungen zu veranſchaulichen. Über die Liebe auf den erſten Blick von Masiniſſa und Sophariſa heiſt es im G. B., daß beide „breakynge the oores of feare, and lyftyng v^p the ankers of ſhame, incontinent raifed the ſayles of theyr hartes, and with the ſhippes of theyr pſons, they ioyned eche to other.“ (Fol. 67). Die Leidenschaft, welche die Liebenden einander zuführte, als Steuermann dargeſtellt! — „The vyce of the fleſſhe in all tymes in all ages, and in all eſtates holdeth his ſeaſone or courſe, if it paſſe not in the grene age of chyldehode, caſtyng of the reyne of reaſone, and ſtrykyng with the ſpurres of the fleſhe, and blowynge with the trompe of ſenſualite: Takinge the bridell in the tethe, with a furious wyll rennyng through mountaynes and woddes after the mare. In leauynge her goinge but ſoftelye and in the ouertakynge moche leſſe.“ (Fol. 15). Der von der Sinnlichkeit getriebene Menſch wird in dem Bilde eines Reiters und eines Hengſtes dargeſtellt. Die Beziehung auf die ſinnliche Leidenschaft bildet die begriffliche Einheit dieſes allegoriſchen Gedankenkomplexes.

Titelblatt.

(Verschiedene Zeichnungen in dieser Umrandung)

THE GOL DEN

BOKE OF MARCVS
AVRELIVS EMPE
ROVR AND
ELO-
QVENT ORATOVV.

ANNO M. D. XXXV

THE TABVL.

(2. Blatt)



F the byrthe and lynage of Marke Aurelie Anthony emperour. Cap. i.

¶ What maysters Marke Aurelie had in his youthe. Cap. ii.

¶ What sciencis Marcus the emperour lerned, And of a merueylous letter that he sente to Polion. Cap. iii.

¶ Howe for the wyfedome of Marcus many wyfe men floryfhyd in his tyme. Capitu. iiii.

¶ Of the emperour Marcus sonne named Ueriffimus. Cap. v.

¶ What wife aunciente men Marcus chofe to instructe his sonne. Cap. vi.

¶ Howe it chaunced to fyue wife menne, wherfore they were put out of the emperours houle. capi. vii.

¶ Howē the emperour reasoned with the maysters that shulde lerne his sonne. cap. viii.

15

Howe the maysters of princis oughte to kepe theym from vices. cap. ix.

¶ Howe themperour Marcus nouryfhed the princeffis his doughters. cap. x.

¶ Howe Marcus the emperour dyd chofe 7 proued his fonnes in lawe. cap. xi.

¶ What themperoure Marcus fayde to the father of a yonge man, that wolde mary one of his doughters. Capi. xii.

¶ How a sonne in lawe oughte to be well examined er he be accepted to his purpofe. Ca. xiii.

25

¶ Howe marc the emperour fauoured al noble exercyfes and hated trewandes and fooles. ca. xiiii.

¶ Of the good conuerfation of this emperour Marcus Aurelius. ca. xv.

(2. Blatt, Rückst.)

Of the feaste that the Romaynes kepte to the god Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the fayd emperour there. cap. xvi.

Howe Marcus the emperour aunfwered a fenatour in the senate. Cap. xvii.

35 Howe the emperour Marcus deuyded the houres of the day
for the bufinesfes of thempyre. cap. xviii.

The aunfwere of Marke themperour, whan Fauftine his wyfe
demaunded the keye of his ftudy. cap. xix.

The emperour reherfeth the perylles of them that haunte
40 women exceffyuelye. ca. xx.

The emperours anfwere to Faufine for that fhe fayd, fhe
was with chylde. cap. xxi.

How tidynges was brought to thêperour, that the Mau-
ritaynes wolde conquere greate Brytaine. ca. xxii.

45 what the emperour fayd to them of his courte in efchew-
ing ydelnes. cap. xxiii.

Of the peryllous lyuynge of them that haunte the courte
continually. ca. xxiiii.

Howe the emperour wold haue thê of his courte to liue. capit. xxv.

50 Of a meruaylous 7 fearefulle monfter that was feene in
Scicile, and of his wrytynges. ca. xxvi.

What befelle to a citenen of Rome in the tyme of this em-
perour Marcus. ca. xxvii.

Of a great peftilêce that was in Italy in this emperours
55 tyme. ca. xxviii.

Howe Marcus answered his phifitions that wolde haue hym
leauue his ftudy. ca. xxix.

How fciencie ought to be in pryncis. cap. xxx.

What a villayne fayde to the fenatours of Rome in the
60 prefence of the emperour. ca. xxxi.

Of dyuers other thynges that the villayne faid before the
fenate. ca. xxxii.

(3. Blatt)

Howe the emperour defyred the welth of his people, and
the people his welth. capi. xxxiii.

65 Howe the emperour gaue Lucilla his daughter licence to
fporte her at his palays. Ca. xxxiiii.

What Marcus the emperour fayde to a fenatour as touchynge
triumphes. cap. xxxv.

Of the great reproche that the emperour gaue to his wife
70 Fauftine and her daughter. Cap. xxxvi.

Howe the emperour counfayled Fauftine to efchewe ylle
occasions fro her daughter. ca. xxxvii.

what thoughte Marcus the emperour toke for the mariage
of his daughters. ca. xxxviii.

Of a fyknes, wherof the emperour dyed, of his aege, 7 where ⁷⁵
he dyed. ca. xxxix.

The wordes of Panutius, fecretary to themperour, at the
houre of his deathe. ca. xl.

Howe the emperour demaunded to haue in wrytynge all
that the fecretary had fayde. cap. xli. ⁸⁰

The anfwere of themperur to Panutius. cap. xlii.

what the emperour fayd to the mayfters of his fon and to
the rulers of thempyre. ca. xliii.

Howe the emperoure at the houre of his deathe, fente for
his fonne, and declared to him, who fhuld gouerne the ⁸⁵
empire. cap. xliiii.

what the emperour fayde to his fonne at the houre of his
deathe. ca. xlv.

Of other more perticuler counfels giuē by the emperour to
his fonne. ca. xlv. ⁹⁰

Of dyuers and pertycular recommendations, whiche the em-
perour commaunded his fonne. Capitulo. xlvii.

Of the laft wordes that the emperour fpake to his fonne,
and of a table that he gaue hym. ca. xlviii.

(3. Blatt, A letter fent by Marcus Aurelius to Pyramon his fpeciall ⁹⁵
Rücks.) frende. The fyrfte letter.

A letter fent by Marcus the emperour to Cornelius of the
trauayle of warre, 7 vanite of triumphe. The ii. letter.

To Torcatus beinge at Gayette in confolation of his ba-
nyfhemente. The thyrde letter. ¹⁰⁰

A letter of Domitius of Capue to comfort hym in his ba-
nyfhemente. The fourth letter.

A letter fent fro themperour to Claudius 7 Claudine his wife, bi-
caufe they beinge olde liued as yonge perfonne. The v. letter.

A letter fent fro Marc9 thēperour to Labinia a Romaine ¹⁰⁵
widow for to cōfort her for the deathe of her houlebande.

The vi. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Cyncinatus his frend, bycause he beyng a gentilman became a marchant.
 110 The feuenth letter.

A letter sente from Marc the emperour to Catulus cenforius, that was forowfull for the deathe of his sonne Ueriffimus. The viii. letter.

A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Marcurino, beyng
 115 at Sanny nowe called Benauente. The ny nth letter.

A letter sent by Marke themperour, to Antigonus, comfortynge hym in a forowfulle case. The tenth letter.

A nother letter sente by Marc the Emperour to the fame Antigonus ageynste cruell iudges. The leuenth letter.

120 A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the yle of Helespont, whan he dyd banyfhe the vacaboundes fro Rome. The .xii. letter.

A letter sente by Marc themperour to Catulus his speciall frende of the nouelties of Rome. The .xiii. letter.

125 A letter sent by Marc thêperour to the amoureuse ladyes of Rome, bycause they made a play of him. The .xiiii. letter.

(4. Blatt) A leter sent by Marc thêperour to Boemia a loue of his y wold haue gone with hym to the warres. The .xv. letter.


The aunfwere to the emperours letter sente by Boemia.
 130 The fyxtenth letter.

A letter sent by Marc thêperour to Matrine a yonge maiden of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seenge her at a windowe. The feuententh letter.

A nother letter sent by Marc themperour to the fayd gentyl woman Matrine. The eyghtenth letter.
 135

A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Libia a fayre lady Romaine. The .xix. letter.

*THE PROLOGVE.

(*A) S the time is an inuentour of nouelties, and
a register certayne of thynges auncient, and
at the ende tyme gyueth ende to that suffreth
ende: The trouthe all onely amonge al thin-
ges is priuileged, in fuche wyse, that whan s
the tyme semeth to haue broken her wynges, than as im-
mortall she taketh her force. There is nothyng so entier,
but it diminifheth, nor nothyng so hole, but that is wery,
nor nothyng so stronge, but that breaketh, nor nothyng
so well kepte, but that corrupteth. So all these thynges 10
tyme acheueth and burieth, but onely trouth, the whiche
(of the tyme and of all thyng that is in the tyme) trium-
pheth, Neyther to be fauoured of the good, nor to be per-
secuted of the ylle, may be, that somtyme trouthe may be
stopped and hydde, but whan it is displeased, and wyl dis- 15
please, than at the laste she cometh to a good porte, and
taketh londe. The fruites in the spryngynge tyme haue
not the vertue to gyue sustynauce nor perfite swetenes
to satisfie the taste of them that eateth therof: but than
passeth the season of sommer, and haruest cometh, whi- 20
che tyme dothe better rype them, and than that that we
do eate dothe profyte vs, the profe therof is ryght faue-
rynesse, and gyueth the more force and vertue, and the
greater is the taste. I wyl in these firste wordes saye,
that in the fyrste aeges men were more esteemed by theyr 25
meke customes and delicatenes, than they were after re-
proued by their grosse and rude vnderfondynges. Cer-
taynely some of the auncient philosophers, I speake
of the mooste auncient, as welle Caldees as Grekes, who
fyrste lyfted them selues to regarde the sterres of the he- 30
uen, and surmounted the hyghe mounte of Olympius,
there to contemplate and regarde the influences of the
pla-

(*A, Rückss.) *planettes in the heuen: I dare well faye, that they haue rather meryted pardon by their ignoraunces, than prayse
 35 fynges or grace by their wyfedome. These were the fyrste that wolde serche the trouthe of the elementes of the heuen, and yet they were the firste that dyd fowe errours in thynge natural of the erthe. Homere in his Illiade said these wordes in speakyng of philosphers: I prayse nothyng
 40 the knowlege of myn auncesters, but I can them great thanke and prayse, in that they defyred knowlege. This was wel sayd of Homere. For if among the auncient men had not raygned fuche ignorance, there had not ben so many sectis of parcialities in euerye scole. He that
 45 hath redde the auncient antiquities of the philosphers, shall not denaye me, the presumption of the knowledge and ignorance of that they desired to knowe, the whiche is chiefe cause, that science is not all one: There is great nombre of parcialities, Cynitiens, Catōiens, Peripati-
 50 ciens, Academyens, and Epicuriens, who were contrary in their opinions, as dyuers in their naturalities. I wylle not that my penne be so dismeasured to reprove so moche the auncient men, that the glorie all onely shoulde abyde with them that be present. Truely if he merite guardon
 55 and prayse, that sheweth me the way, wherby I thynke to passe: yet no lesse meryteth he that sheweth and aduifeth me of the way, wherby I may fayle. The ignoraunce of the auncient men hath ben but as a guyde to aduise and aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, we haue fōude
 60 sythe the way, to their great prayse, 7 to our great fhome. I say that yf we that be nowe present had bene than, we had knowen lesse than they dydde. And yf they that were than were nowe at this houre, they shulde surmount vs in knowlege. And that this is trewe, it appereth wel. For
 65 the anciēt fages, with their diligence to know the trouthe,
 by

(*A. ii.) *by their clofe and ferme made the wayes: But we by our flouthe folowe not the open wayes. Than to the purpose that I wyll fay, we that be nowe prefent, we can not complayne of them that haue bene, but that the trouthe (the whiche accordynge to Aul. Gel. is doughter of the time) ⁷⁰ In this tyme of the worlde declareth to vs the errours that we ought to flee, and the trouthe of the doctrine that we ought to folowe. But as nowe the humayne malyce is fo experte, and the vnderftondynge of mortall men is fo dulle, that in tyme of nede, in goodnes the wytte faylleth, ⁷⁵ 7 in all yll we knowe more than we ought to knowe. In fuche wife, that some with one parte of the more, and some with leffe, al prefume to wyn the game. And though this be true, yet it is but a fmalke thyng to that we abyde fore: There is fo moche that we oughte to knowe. For ⁸⁰ the moſte that we knowe, is the leaſte parte of that we be ignorant of, as in thynges naturall, accordyng to the varietie of the tyme, lyke maner doth the operations of the elementes. In ſemblable wyſe in thynges mortall, as the ages hath ſucceded, ſo are diſcouered the ſciēces. For cer- ⁸⁵ tayne all the fruities cometh not togyder. Whan one fayleth an other begynneth to entre in ſeaſon. I wyll faye, that neyther all doctours amonge chryſten men, nor all the philoſophers amonge the gentylles were concurrant in one tyme, but after the deathe of one good an nother ⁹⁰ came better. The hygh and ſupreme wyſedome, the whiche all meane thynges gouerneth by Juſtice, and departeth it accordynge to his bountie, wyll not that at oone tyme the worlde ſhulde want or be deſtitute of ſage men, nor at an other tyme want of ſymple perſones: ſome de- ⁹⁵ ſyringe the fruite, and ſome the leaues. In ſuch fort that they ſhuld haue enuy of that other were impeched. This auncient world that ranne in Saturnus dayes, the whiche

(*A. ii. Rückss.) *che otherwyse was called the golden worlde, the whiche
 100 was so esteemed of them that sawe it, and so moche prayed
 of theym that herde the writynge therof, and so moche
 desired of them that felt no part therof, was not gold
 by the fages that dyd gylte it, but bycause that there was
 none yll that did vngylt it. This our age nowe is of iron:
 105 yet it is not called of iron, for faut of fages, but bycause
 the malycious people surmount. I confesse one thyng,
 and I thynke I fhall haue many wyll fauour me in the
 fame, that there was neuer in the worlde so moche people
 teachynge vertue, and so fewe folowynge the fame. Aul
 110 Gele sayth in his boke, that the ancient fages were holdē
 in reputation, bycause there were fewe teachers and many
 lerners: 7 at this houre it is contrary, there be but fewe
 lerners and many teachers. The smal esteeme that the fa-
 ges beinge [sic] at this tyme may be sene by great veneration,
 115 that the philosphers were holden in as than, the whiche
 thyng was true: Homer amonge the grekes, Salomon
 amonge the Hebrewes, Lygurge amonge the Lacedemo-
 nyens, Lyuie amonge the Romayns, Cicero amonge the
 Latines, Apolonius Thianeus amonge al the barbarike
 120 nations. I defyre to haue ben in all these ages, whan the
 worlde was so ryche of sage persons, and so pore of sim-
 ple persons whan they assembled out of ferre countreis,
 and of dyuers realmes and strange nations: not al one-
 ly to haue hard their doctrines, but also to haue sene their
 125 persones. I thynke I am not begyled in the histories, for
 whan Rome in his moste prosperitie was hyghest in tri-
 umphe, Titus Liuius doth write it in his historyes, and
 the glorious faynt Ierome affyrmeth it in the prologe of
 the byble, that mo people came to Rome to se the eloquen-
 130 tes of the bokes, more than to ioy any Romain triumph.
 Whan Olympias was delyuered of her childe the greate
 Alexander

(*A. iii.) *Alexander, Philip her hufbande and father to the yonge chylde wrote a letter to Aristotle, wherin he sayd: I gyue great graces to the goddis, not all onely that they haue gyuen vnto me a sonne, but bicaufe they haue gyuen him ¹³⁵ to me in the tyme that thou mayst be his mayster, and he thy disciple. Marc Aurele the emperour, of whom this present boke intreateth, he speakyng of hym selfe wrote to Polion these wordes: Frende I wyl thou knowe, that I am not made emperour by reason of the blode of my pre- ¹⁴⁰ deceffours, nor yet for the fauour of my linage nowe present, but it was bycause I haue ben always a frende, and louer of the sage people, and enmy to them that haue no good knowlege. Ryght happy was Rome to chosse so valiant an emperour, and ryght fortunate was that empe- ¹⁴⁵ rour to come to fuche an empire, not by patrymonie but by sagesnes. And if that aege was glourious in ioyinge of his persone, no lesse it is to vs to ioye of his doctrines. I wyll intitle this boke the golden boke. It maye be called golden, by cause in so high estimation it holdeth the ver- ¹⁵⁰ tuous discoueringe in their tymes this boke with the sentences, as these princes holdeth their mynes of golde in their Indes. But I say that at this houre there be moo hartes banyshed into the Indes of golde, than to employ them to rede the werkes of this boke. Salust sayth, that ¹⁵⁵ there ought great glory be gyuen to them that haue done these hygh and great actes: And that there ought no les fame and renowme be gyuen to them that in a good stile haue written them. In this case I confesse to deserue no merites for my traduction or any fame, but I demaunde ¹⁶⁰ pardon of all them that be sage, for the fawtes that they fhall fynde therin. For excepte the diuine letters, there is nothyng so well written, but that there maye be founde necessitie of correction, lyne, and censure. Semed this
to be

(*A. iii., 165 Rückss.) *to be trewe, by that Socrates was reprovéd of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Abenruyz, Scilio of Sulpice, Lelie of Uarro, Maring of Tomee, Enio of Horace, Senec of Aule .Gele, Estratocles of Strabo, Tefato of Galene, Hermagore of Cicero, Origen of faint Jerom, 170 faynt Jerome of Ruffyn, and Ruffyn of Donate: Sythe that in them 7 in their werkes there hath bene correcti-on, who were men of hyghe knowlege, it is no reason that I fhulde be in their fraternitie, seinge that I knowe so ly-tel as I do, to the examynation of wise and vertuous men. 175 To them I submyt this present warke, and to them that haue ben suche, I them require to be content to be the re-ders, and not iuges therof. It were no pacience to suffre, nor lawe to permytte, that a thyng that a sage persone with great maturitie and deliberation hath written, to be 180 disprayed by a fymple persone. For ones redyng, often-tymes the auctours and wryters are dysprayed, not of them that can traduce and compose werkes: but of them that can not vnderstande them, and yet lesse rede them. I say further of aduantage, that dyuers haue written of 185 the tyme of the sayd Marke Aureleo emperour, as Hero-dian wrote lyttel, Eutropio lesse, Lampridio yet lesse, Ju-lius Capytolyn fomwhat more. The writinges of them and of other semeth rather epytomes thanne hystories. There is dyfference betwene this writinge, and that they wrote 190 by herynge say: but they by whom I haue composed this present warke, they were wytnesse by fyght, and not by hering of other but they wrote what they saw them self: That is to say amonge the maysters, who lerned the said emperour their sciēces, there were thre, that is to say, 195 Junio Raftico, Cina Catule, and Sexto Cheronense, ne-uewe to the greatte Plutarke. These bene they that haue written this present historie, Sexto Cheronense in greke, and

(*A. iiii.) *and the other two in latyne. I thynke of this hystorye is but
 small notyce, bycause vnto this houre it hathe not be sene
 imprinted. Whan I departed from the college of my stu- 200
 dy, and went to preache in the palays, where I sawe so
 many newe nouelties in the courtes, I delybered my selfe
 with greate desyre to knowe thynges, and gaue my selfe
 to ferche and knowe thynges auncient. And the case for-
 tuned on a daye, redynge an historie, I founde therin mat- 205
 ter to be noted in a pistle, and it semed to me so good, that
 I put all myn humayne forces to ferche farther. And af-
 ter in reuoluyng dyuers bokes, ferchyng in dyuers libra-
 ries, and also speakyng with diuers sages of dyuers re-
 almes, fynally I founde this tretise in Florence, amōge 210
 the bokes left there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good
 memorie. I haue vsed in this writyng, the whiche is hu-
 mayne, the whiche dyuers tymes hath ben vsed in diuinitie,
 that is to reduce, not worde for worde, but sentence for sen-
 tence: We other interpretours are not bounde to gyue for 215
 the meane the wordes, it suffiseth to gyue for the weyght
 the sentence: As the historiographes, of whome there were
 dyuers, and the hystorye that they made was all but one
 thyng: I will not deny, but I haue lefte out some wordes,
 which were not mete, nor wel syttyng, rude, and left of 220
 valure, and I haue medled it with other more swete and
 profitable. I thynke that euery wyse man, after he hath
 redde this boke, wyll not saye that I am the principal au-
 ctour of this warke, nor yet to iuge me so ignorant to ex-
 clude me cleane from it, for so hygh sentences are not founde 225
 at this present tyme, nor to so hygh a style they of tyme
 past neuer atteyned vnto.

Here endeth the
 prologue.

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

(*A. iii.,
Rücks.)

¶ Here begynneth the boke of the lyfe of the noble
and eloquent Marke Aurele emperour,

¶ Of the byrthe and lygnage of Marke aurele
Anthony emperour. cap. primo.



N the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C.
Lxxxxv. in the Olimpiade a. C. lxiii. Anthony
the meke, beinge deed, than consulles Fuluie
Catō, and Gnee Patrocle in the high capi-
tol, the iiii. daye of Octobre, at the demaunde
of al the people Romain, and consent of the sacred Se-
nate, was declared for emperour vniuerfall of all the mo-
narche of Rome, Marc Aurelee Anthony. This excellent
baron was naturally of Rome borne in the mounte Celie.
And accordyng as Julius Capitolyne sayth, he was born
the .vi. kalendes of May, the whyche accordynge to the
accompt of the latyns, was the .xxvi. daye of the moneth
of Apryl paffed. His father was named Anio Uero. For
ȝ occasyon wherof the hystories dyuers tymes calle hym
Marc Anthony Uero. True it is, that Adriane the empe-
rour called hym Ueriffimus, bycause in hym was neuer
founde no lyes, nor neuer fayled the trouthe. These Anius
Ueres was a lygnage, that auanced them to be descēded
of Numa Pompilio, and of Quint9 Curtius the famous
Romayn: whiche for to delyuer the towne of Rome from
peryll, and to gyue his persone perpetuall memorye, of
his owne good free wylle he yelded hym selfe to the same
vorage, that as than was sene in Rome. The mother of
this emperour was called Domiciade, as Cyne historien
recounteth in the bokes of the lygnages of Rome. The
Camilles were persones in that tyme greatly esteemed, by
cause they were accompted to be descended of Camille ȝ
famous

(*f. 1) *famous and auncient capytayne Romaine, whiche dely-
 uered Rome from the Gaulles that had wonne hit. The
 men that descended of that lygnage were called Camil- 30
 li, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the womenne were
 also calledde Camilles, in the remembraunce of a dought-
 er of the fayde Camille, that was called Camilla.
 There was an auncient lawe, that all Romayns fhuld
 haue a particuler priuilege in the same place where their 35
 predeceffours had done to the Romaine people any great
 seruice. For this auncient custome they had priuylege, so
 that all they of the lynage of Camylle were kept and
 mayntayned in the high capitoll. And in case the variete
 of the tyme, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebulition and 40
 mouynge of ciuill warres were cause of the dymynysfhyng
 of the auncient Policye of Rome, and introduced in man-
 ner a lyfe not verye good, yet for all that we rede not, that
 the preemynence of the Romaynes were broken, but if
 it were in the tyme of Sylla, whā he made the vniuer- 45
 fall prescription agaynst the Marians. After the dethe
 of this cruell Sylla, in exaltynge of hym selfe, Julius
 Cesar the pitiefull, made dictatour of Rome, and chiefe of
 the Marians, adnulled and vndyd all that Silla had
 made, and brought agayn into the auncient estate the 50
 common welthe.

¶ What hath ben the condicions, the state, pouertie,
 rycheffe, fauour, or disfauour of the auncestours of this
 Marc Aurelee Emperour, we fynde not in the auncient
 histories, and yet it hath ben diligently ferched. The 55
 ancient Romaine hystorians were not accustomed to write
 the lyues of the emperours fathers, namely whan they
 be made monarches, but the merytes and graces that
 their children had, as for the auctoritie that they had in-
 heritynge their fathers. Trouthe it is, as saythe Julius 60

Capi-

(*f.1^b) *Capitolyn, the father of Marc Aurelee themperour had ben pretour in exercifes, and capityne in the Frontiers, in the tyme of Traian the good, & Adrian the wyfe, & Anthony the meke, emperours. This is confirmed by that
 65 the fame Marc Aurelee wrote (being at Rodes) to a frēd of his called Polion, that was at Rome, fayinge thus: Many thinges haue I felte and knowen frende Polion, by the abfence of Rome, namely of that I fe my felfe here alone in this yle: but as vertue maketh a ftraunger na-
 70 turall, and vice tourneth naturalle to a ftraunger: And as I haue ben .X. yeres here at Rodes to rede philosophy, I therby repute my felfe as naturall of this lande, 7 that hath caufed me to forgette the pleasures of Rome, and it hath lerned me the maners of the yle. And here I haue
 75 founde many of my fathers frendes. Here was capityn agaynft the Barbariens, to my lorde Adrian, Anthonye my father in lawe, the fpace of XV. yeres. I lette the to wyte, that the Rodyan people are curteis, and ful of good graces. I wolde haue redde philosophy as longe as my
 80 father had ben at Rodes in warre, but I may not: for Adrian my lorde commandeth me to go and kepe refidēce at Rome, howe be it euery man reioyseth to fee his naturall countrey.

¶ So by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleued, that
 85 Anio Uero, father to this emperour Marc, had applyed the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the cuftome lyghtly to trufte a perfon to haue the office of a gouernour on the Frontiers, without he had ben well exercyfed in the feates of warre. And as all the glorye of the Ro-
 90 maynes was to leaue after theym good renowme, the fayd Marc certaynly was taken for the mooste vertuous, and had greateft frendes in the Senate, wherby he trusted on the conquest of the moft cruell enmyes: according

(*f. 2) *as the sayd Sextus Cheronense historien sayth. The Romayns all though they had in their handes moste peryl- 95
 lous warres, yet they had in foure partes of the empire
 stronge and entier garnifons. That is to say in Byzance,
 the whiche is now Constantynoble, by reason of theym of
 the oriente: And Engades, the whiche now is calledde Ca-
 lyx, a citie of Spayne, for loue of theym of the west: In the 100
 ryuer of Rhodano, which is now the ryuer of Ryne, for the
 Germaines: And in Colloffe, whiche now is called the
 Rhodes, bycause of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of
 Januarie, whan the senate deuyded the offyces, beinge
 pourueyed of a dictatour, and of two consulles yere, 105
 Incontinent in the thirde place they prouided for foure
 moste excellent barons to defende the sayde foure Fron-
 tiers: The whiche semeth to be trewe, for the moste famous
 and renowmed barons in their yong dais were capitay-
 nes in the faide Frontiers. The great Pompeius was sente 110
 to the Byzaunces Constantynoble: The worthy Scipio
 was sent to the Colloffences and Rodyans: And the cou-
 ragious Julius Cesar was sente with the Gadytaines of
 Calyx of Spayne: And the stronge esteemed Marcus [sic] was
 sent to them of the ryuer of Ryne. This we say bycause 115
 that Anio Vero father to Marc Aurele emperour had ben
 prouost and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitay-
 nes of the Frontiers, which ought to be in Rome one of
 the perones moste esteemed.

¶ What maysters Marke Aurelee hadde
 in his youth. Cap. xii.

VUe haue not by any autentike histories, fro whens, 120
 whan, or how, in what maner, or in what exerceyses
 or with what perones, or in what londes was spent & cō-
 fu-

B. ii.

(*f.2b)*fumed the most parte of the lyfe of this good emperour.

But to be shorte, Julius Capitolyn faith, that he had ben
 125 xxiii. yere vnder the commaundement of Adrian the emperour.
 Howe be it contrarie wise is founde by other hyftorians,
 accordynge as faith Sexto Cheronense in his historie. It was not the custome of the Romaines cron-
 130 cles to write the thynges doone by these princes, before they were princes, but onely of yonge people, beinge in
 their yonge age, hauynge greate and hie magnificence, and doing gret enterprises. This semeth to be of trouth:
 for Sueton Tranquill recounteth largely the fearefulle dedes and enterprises doone by Caius Iule, done in his
 135 yonge age, to shewe to princes to comme, howe it was a great ambition, that they had to atteyn to the monarchy, and but of small wytte and maturitie to kepe theym selfe
 therin. It is no newe thyng for men that gape for hie and frayle thynges. For the more higher the magnificēce
 140 is, the more lower they fele fortune. And when they were diligent to accomplyshe their desire, as moche thoughte had they to conserue their quietnes and rest. In case thā
 that Anio Uero father to Marke the emperour, folowed the exercise of warres: yet he put his sonne in the way to
 145 lerne science. For there was a lawe fore vsed and accustomed, and well kepte in the Romaine policie, that euerye citisen,
 that enioyed the lybertie of Rome, and had accomplyshed .x. yeres: their sonnes shulde not be suffred to go
 by the stretes as vacabondes, nor it shulde not be suffred
 150 by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, & dayly toke hede to the forfaytes done therin, to suffre a chylde no lenger
 than .x. yeres of his age to play the childe. But fro thens forthe the father of the childe shulde be bounde to norishe
 hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to laye a pledge that
 155 his sonne shulde do no folyes. Whan Rome triumphed,
 and

(*f. 3) *and by their policie gouerned all the worlde, it was certainly a meruaylous and monstruous thyng to se it thē, and no leffe fearefull vnto vs nowe to here therof. There was at that tyme in Rome .iiii. hūdrēd .M. inhabitants amonge whom there was .ii. hūdrēd .M. yonge people, that were refreyned and brydled fro their yonge pleasures. The sonne of Cato was chaastyfed, bycause he was wyfull and presumptuous. And also the brother of good Cyna was banyshed, bycause he went ydelly as a vacabunde. Without that Cicero begyleth vs in his boke of the Romaine lawes, no Romaine ought to stray abroad in the stretes of Rome, but if he bare in his hād the signe or token of the offyce, wherby he lyued. To thentent that euery man shuld knowe, that he lyued by his trauayle, & not by the sweate of other men. This lawe was kepte of euery person. The emperour hadde borne before hym a brennyng brande: The consulle an axe of armes: the priestes a hat in maner of a coyfe: the senatours a tonge in maner of a crufyble on their armes, the censure a lyttelle table: the tribunes a mace: the centurions a sygne or baner, the oratours a boke, the gladiatours a fwerde, the tayllours sheares, the smythes a hammer, and in like wyse of all the other offices and craftes. We maye knowe than by this that is said, that after ȳ Marc Aurelee was borne at Rome, his father in his youthe had taught hym good norture. And though it so were, that the begynnyng of his yonge aege shulde be hydde from vs: at the leaste waye we are certayne, that the myddell aege and ende of hym was ryghte glorious. His father Anio Uero wolde that his sonne Marcus Aurelius shulde leaue feates of armes, and folowe study. And surely it is to be thought, that it was done more by the valyauntnes of the father, than the cowardenes of the sonne, excepte the deedes of them


(*f.3^b) *them that be deed begyle vs that ben alyue, and the caufe
 190 iudged by clere vnderstandynge, and that we fynde moo
 sentences of dyuers fadde perfonen, that there hath ben
 but fewe that ben losfe by writinges and lernynge, ye and
 a great meynie fewer that haue had auantage by armes.
 Reuolue all bokes, and ferche through all realmes, and
 195 finally they shew vs, that very few in their realmes haue
 ben happy in armes, but there haue ben many famous &
 renowned by scripture and lernynge. Take here example
 and se if it be true or not that I say. Had the Affiriens mo
 than one kynge, that was Ninus, one Ligurge amonge
 200 the Lacedemonians, the Egyptiens one Ptholome, the
 Hebrewes one Machabee, the Grekes one Hercules, the
 Macedoniens one Alexāder: the Epirotiens one Pyrrhe,
 one Hanyball the Carthageniens, and one Julius Cefar
 amonge the Romayns? It is not thus of lerned men:
 205 for yf the grekes had one Homer, no lesse the Grekes vaun-
 teth them of the .vii. fages, of whom we beleue more in
 their philosophy, than Homer in the warres of Troy. For
 as difficile it is to fynde a trouthe in Homere, as a lye in
 these fages. Semblably the Romaynes hadde not onely
 210 Cycero as ryght eloquent, but also they had Salust, Lu-
 can, Titus Liuius, with a great company of noble men,
 and well approued, who haue left right great credence in
 their scriptures in the fayinge of trouth. What lost Cice-
 ro in the senate for vsing of inuectiues: And as we say of
 215 so small nombre of Grekes and latynes, we may saye of
 the Affiriens, Persians, Medes, Argiues, Acayens, Pe-
 niens, Frenchemen, Britons, Englyshemen, and Spa-
 nyardes. All the whiche nations withoute comparifon
 haue of them selfe lefte more memorie, and haue honou-
 220 red theyr londes and countreyes more by writinge, than
 they that hath lefte signes by armes. Than let vs leaue
 these

(*f. 4) *these straunge histories, and retourne to the pithe of our
emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recountethe. According as this excellent baron lerned diuers sciences,
so he had dyuers maysters to teache hym. He studied grā- 225
mer with a mayster named Euphormion, musyke with an
other named Senio Comode, eloquence with Alexander
a greke, In naturall philosophy he had to his maysters
Comode Calcedonien an auncient baron, whiche expound-
ded to hym Homer, and Sexto Cheronense neuwe to the 230
great Plutarche. Also he studied in the lawes, and Volu-
fio Meciano was his mayster. This emperour esteemed
to haue the knowlege of payntyng, and to graue in wood
and metall, in erthe, and other sculptures, in whiche art
his maister was Diogenito, in his tyme a famous and re- 235
nowmed paynter. He trauayled also to knowe and ferche
what extended to the art of Nygromancye. By occasion
wherof he went openly to here Apolonio. And to thentēt
that there shulde be nothyng vnlearned of hym, he aboue
all sciences sette his mynde to Cosmography, in the whi- 240
che for his maysters, he toke Junio Rastico, that sythe
wrote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the whiche wrote of his
dethe, and the lyfe of Comode his sonne. Of these noble
and excellent barons, that flourysshed in those dayes, he
was taughte in vertues and sciences. Cicero lamentethe 245
the auncient policie of Rome, bycause that he sawe great
losse in the common welthe than present, sayinge in his
Retorike, that the auncient Romainys had alway regard
to that parte, where as they thought moste damage and pe-
ryll shulde growe. There were .v. thynges amonge all 250
other in Rome, whervnto they hadde euer a vigilant re-
specte, the whiche the senate neded not to care for, nor no
lawe dispensed for them: and these ben they, the priestes
were honest, and the virgines vestales righte chaste: the
penal-

(*f.4^b)²⁵⁵ *penalties right iust, the capitaynes full valyant: They that taught yonge chyl dren were vertuous. It was not permytted in Rome, that he that was a mayster in scyences, shulde be disciple of vices.

¶ what sciences Marcus the emperour lerned.

And of a meruayllous letter that he
sent to Polyon. Cap. iii.

²⁶⁰  Hiloftrate fayth, that it was demaunded of Polion, who was the richeste man of the worlde. He answered, It was he that had moſte wyſedome. He was demanded agayne, who was mooſte poore. He aunſwered, he that had leſt wytte. Of trouth
²⁶⁵ it was a worthy ſentence of ſuche a perſone. The effecte therof we ſe dayly by experience, the wyſe flydyng in diuers chances of fortune, releueth hym ſeſſe: The vnwitty perſone, in very ſmall thynges touchyng his lyuyng not greatly decayed falleth downe. There is nothyng
²⁷⁰ that is loſt, but that there is hope of recouering, if it be in the handes of a wiſe man. And contrarie wiſe there is no thyng ſo affured, but the recouerance therof ought to be feared, if a ſole haue the guidinge therof. It was axed of Xenophon the philoſopher, whether he had rather to be
²⁷⁵ foolyſhe and a greate lorde, or to be wyſe and poore. He aunſwered and ſayde, I haue pitie of a ryche foole, and I haue enuye of a wyſe man waxen poore. For if a wyſe man haue but one fote, yet wyll he ryſe and kepe hym ſelf from fallynge. And if ye gyue an abbay to a foole, yf by
²⁸⁰ fortune he fall, he wyll neuer releue agayn. ye may think that the father that dieth and leaueth his ſonne pore and wyſe, that he leaueth to hym moche. And he that leaueth his
his

(*f. 5) *his sonne riche and foolysfhe, I thinke he hath lefte hym no-
 thyng. These thynges considered, Anio Uero father of
 the emperour, as a father that loued his sonne hartily, was ²⁸⁵
 not contente to delyuer one mayster to his sonne to make
 hym vertuous, and to lerne one science, wherwith he myghte
 occupie his vnderfondyng, but he gaue hym many may-
 sters, that refreyned hym from vices, and cōmaunded
 that he shulde lerne many sciences, to thentent that he shulde ²⁹⁰
 be the more besily exercised. Whan & howe moche he tra-
 uayled to lerne, and what sciences, and with whom, and
 with what wyll he lerned, and what he knew, he wrote
 hym selfe, beinge at Agrippine, nowe called Coleyne, to a
 frende of his named Polyon, as it foloweth. ²⁹⁵

¶ Frende Polion thou meruaylest why that I leaue not
 to lerne newe thynges at the ende of my dayes. He that
 hath but one meate to eate, and can not eate therof, he le-
 ueth it, and peraduenture it was holfom for hym, and ea-
 teth other thinges that he seeth, whiche may be hurtfull ³⁰⁰
 to hym. It is a great magnificence to hym that seeth that he hath dy-
 uers fortes of meates, so that if he haue no lust to one that
 is good for hym, he may take of an other, that is better.
 He that is wyse may vnderstonde me withoute any more
 declarynge. As in all artes a man is contente at the last, ³⁰⁵
 so at the laste be they neuer so fwete, they torne to a wery-
 nesse. He that knoweth but one science, though he be wyse,
 yet he renneth in great daungier. For beinge annoyed ther-
 with, he wyll occupie his lyfe in other hurtfull thynges.
 The noble and worthy perfonas, that caste flouth ³¹⁰
 fro them, haue lefte of them eternall memorie, not
 wyllinge to lerne all onely one science to attempre their
 vnderfondyng with, but also trauaylle to lerne dyuers other,
 wherwith they sharp their wittes, to thentent that they
 be not dilled and made blont. In all naturall thyn- ³¹⁵

ges

(*f.5b) *ges, nature is with right lyttell content, but the spirite & vnderstandyng is not satisfied with many thinges. And fithe the vnderstandyng is of fuche condicion, that it is losfe by libertie, and is lyghtly encombred, with subtilite
 320 it perceth, with quicknes it knoweth, & with ignorance it wasteth: it is necessarie bytime to remoūt to very hie thiges, lest it bow vnto lowe and yl thynges. All corporalle damages that chaunce to mortall men, are by medicines healed, or by reson remedied, or by length of tyme cured, or els by dethe ended. The onely vnderftondyng, which
 325 is dufked in errorrs, and depraued in malyces, can not be healed by medicines, nor redreffed by reason, nor holpe by counfell. The auncient philosophers in the fayd happye golden worlde and golden age, dyd not all only lerne
 330 one thyng, wherby to fusteyne their lyfe, and to encreafe good fame: But they trauaylled, to knowe all that was to be knowen, and yet euer foughte to knowe more. In the .lxxv. of the Olympiade, as dyuers perfones were affembled in the hygh mountayne Olympius to celebrat
 335 the playes, by fortune thyder came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche had made all that euer he brought with him. He made his shoves, his cote, and sewed his fherte, and had written his bokes, and so of all other thinges. They that were there affembled, were abafhed and meruaylled
 340 greatly that one man coude do it. He was dyuers tymes asked where he lerned fo many thynges. And he aunfwered and fayde, the flouthe of man is the caufe, that one arte is deuided into dyuers artes. For he that knoweth al artes togyther, must nedes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly. And surely they that herd him,
 345 ought to haue ben as greatly afhamed of his wordes, as this philosopher was of the vainglory of his apparel. Let euery man remembre hym felfe, and let no man blame the
 fhort-

(*f. 6) *fhortnes of the time, nor wekenes of our nature. For ther is nothyng fo harde, but it is made foft: nor fo high, but it ³⁵⁰ may be raught: nor kept fo clofe, but it may be fene: nor fo fubtyl, but it may be felt: nor fo dark, but it may be lygh- ted: nor fo profounde, but it may be difcouered: nor fo dif- ceuered, but it may be gathred to gyther: nor fo loft, but it may be found: nor fo impoffible, but it may be conferued, ³⁵⁵ if with al our hartes we occupie our powers in good exer- cifes, and applye our vnderftandyng in highe thynges. I deny not, but our nature is lyttell worth: But I knowlege that leffe worth is our flouthfulnes. I wold demāde of euyl men, the whiche praye vs to be good, and axeth ³⁶⁰ counfelle of vs for their fenfualitie, fayenge, that they be weake and frayle, al though they haue vnderftondyng to inuent euyls, and haue ftrenghthe inough to put them in ef- fecte, and to perceuer therin, they neuer lacke conftaunce. The caufe is we calle it naturall for to doo and commytte vi- ³⁶⁵ ces and miferies. And flouth in vertue we cālle ftraunge and weake bycaufe of the werkes.

Lette no man infame our nature for beyng weake and faynt: nor laye not to the goddes, that they be cruell: for we haue no leffe ablenes to do well than redyneffe to do ³⁷⁰ yll. Let none fay, I wyll, and I can not withdrawe me from vice. It is better fayd I maye, but I wyll not fol- lowe vertue. I wyll not defame ftrange realmes, but I wyll fpeake of vs that be latynes, and by them fhall be fene howe they haue bene full of malyce, and that they ³⁷⁵ myght haue done well. I wolde wyte of the dedes, that Marcus Anthonius dyd with Cleopatra. The proferip- tion that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome. The coniuration that Catilina inuented agaynſte his countreie, The bloudde that was fhedde for the caufe of Pompeye ³⁸⁰ in the campe of Pharſale, and the great thefte that Ju- lius

(*f. 6^b) *lius Cefar made of the treafour, the cruelties that Nero dyd to his mother, the flames that Caligula commytted with his sisters, the trefon that Brutus dyd to his father
 385 Gaius, the fhewdenes and cruelties that Domician dyd to the virgins vestales, the treafons that Julius Patroclus vfed with the Sylitiens and Syculians, the frays & murders that Ulpio the maryner made in the temples and churches of Champayne. I wolde knowe of fuch as
 390 I haue rehersed, and dyuers other that I haue left, that applyed them to fo many fhewde turnes, who letted thē (if they had wolde) to haue applied them in doinge other good dedes? All this I haue fayde my frende Polyon, to aunfwere to that ye haue demaunded of me. That is, in
 395 what sciences I haue wafsted and consumed my tyme. Wherefore it pleafeth me to telle it to the. Anio Uero my father suffred me but .viii. yeres in my chylrhode: than tyl I was .x. yere of age I went to fchole for to wryte and rede: and than fro .x. to .xiii. I went to study with Eufor-
 400 mion, and lerned grammer: fro .xiii. to .xvii. I lerned eloquence with Alexander ſ greke, a famous oratour: thā after that tyme to .xxii. I was with Sexto Calcedon lernynge naturall philosophy. Thofe yeres paffed, I was at Rhodes and ftudied humanitie tyll I was .xxxii. yere of
 405 age. And thā I wēt to Naples, whereas I was thre yere with Fonton a greke, lernynge greke letters. And I put my good wylle foo moche thereto, that I fpake and wrote greke more eafily than latin. Than I retorned to Rome, where the warre of Dacé arofe, to the whiche Adrian my
 410 lorde fent me in perfone: And bycaufe that in armes and tyme of warre I coude carye no bokes of fciencie, I determyned me to lerne the fciencie of mufike with Hieronime Comode, to thentent that I myght with fwetenes of instrumen-
 (*f. 7) tes refstreyne my body fro certayne vices whi*che as than in
 my

my houle began to take force. All the reeft of my lyfe thou ⁴¹⁵ knoweft it hath ben in berynge of offyces in Rome, vnto the tyme that the weyghte of the monarchy was brought into my handes. Hytherto the emperour fpake. Thā by this letter that he wrote to his frēd, it femeth wel, ý without fleuth he paffed his tyme. It is reafon to beleue it holly, ⁴²⁰ in that he hath fayd. For fo excellent workes ý he made, & fo high sentences as he wrote myght not procede but of a prudent man, and a very wyfe fpirite.

¶ Howe for the wyfedome of Marcus many wife men flouryfhed in his tyme. Cap. iiii.




AS the lyfe of the prince is but as a whyte for al other to fhote at, and as a glaffe wherin al ⁴²⁵ the worlde dothe beholde, we fe by experience that wherevnto a prince is inclyned, the people traauayllunge to folowe the same, haue no vulgare difcretion to efchewe the euyll and folowe the good. Certaynly they muſe no leſſe vpon a counterfayte foule, ⁴³⁰ made of fethers, than though it were of fleſhe, and yet atte the fyrſte flyghte hit leſeth the lybertye, and yet his hunger is not therby quenched. Whereby all the wynges of lybertie are tourned to payne of ſeruage. It is a great offence, and an immortal infamy to a prince, that in ⁴³⁵ the ſtede to gyue his hande of good lyuynge to releue other, caſteth backwarde his fote of euyll example, wherby al other ouerthroweth. Than without cōpariſon greater is the wyckedneſſe of the people, thā the negligence of the prince. For if one lyueth yl, and an other fo- ⁴⁴⁰ loweth hym, it is no meruaylle: and yet thoughe there be but fewe that folowe hym, hit is no newe thyng. Nor in caſe, that many folowe hym, is no fearefull thyng: but al
the

(*f.7b) *the hole to folowe him is a great felander. If the people
 445 were fuche as they ought to be, one fhulde rather tourne from
 yll to good for many, than many for one fhuld torne
 from good to yll. Certaynly euery man knoweth, that yf
 we be bounde to honest commaundementes of our
 princes: yet we be not bounde to folowe theyr ylle lyuyng.
 450 What fhall we faye nowe than, feyng that nowe adayes the
 delytes of men are of fo greate price, and the rygour of
 their empire in fo pore estimation, that without fhame
 fome difprayfe their iust commaundementes, and folowe
 their euyll werkes. O if the princes had fuche nombre of
 455 good folke, that wolde fulfyll theyr commaundement, as
 they haue greatte nombre of suche wretches, that folowe their
 doinges, I fwere that there fhulde be no nede of any pri-
 son for the myfdoers, or carcans [sic] for blasphemers, chaines
 for fclaues, or heddyng blockes for traytours, nor kny-
 460 ues for aduoutrers, nor galowes for theues. I wyll gyue
 you example of all this, wherby ye fhall fe, that it is trewe
 that I lay. If the kynge be inclyned to hunt, all wyll be
 hunters: yf he be a player, all wyll playe: yf he vse armes,
 all wyll tourney: if he be an aduoutrer, other wyl vse the
 465 same: yf he be, other wyl be fyers: yf he be vertu-
 ous, all wyll be vertuous and valyant, if he be tempe-
 rate and moderate, all wyll abfteyne, if he be hardye, all
 wyll be bolde, yf he be pitiefull, all wyll haue pitie, if he be
 wife, all wyll lerne. And to thentent that we blame not
 470 allonely the princis of our days, lette vs call to memory
 the princis of tymes past. Who that hath redde Sextus
 Cheronenfe in his boke called the dyuers inclynations
 that princis haue had, fhall fynde that Romulus founda-
 tour of Rome, honoured greatly grauers in stone. Numa
 475 Pompilius his fucceffour honoured priftes, Paulus
 Emilius mariners: Caius Cefar goldfmythes: Scipio,
 the

*f. 8) *the capitaynes: Auguftus Octavi9 tennys players: Cal-
 ligula ruffyens: Tyberius baudes: cruell Neron fwerd
 players: Claudius wryters: Scilla armorers, Marius
 his compaygnion grauers of images: Uafpafian good ⁴⁸⁰
 paynters: Titus his eldeft fonne mynftrelles: Domician
 his myghty brother croffebowe makers. And aboue all
 other our Marcus Aurelius emperour wyfe men. The
 dyuers inclynations that princis had in dyuers thynges
 hath made to varie the fauour & diffauour of many prin- ⁴⁸⁵
 cis with their people. And as the common people regar-
 deth more fauour than Iuftice, fuche officers are moofte
 fauoured, to whom princes doth moofte inclyne. All this
 we fay to fhewe howe that in the tyme of this good empe-
 rour wife men were fauoured. If the hiftorians doo not ⁴⁹⁰
 lye, lythe the tyme of Mecena the Romaine, whiche was
 the moofte happiest to haue wyfe menne to his frendes,
 than to inuente newe maner of meates and bankettes. Un-
 to this Marcus Aureli9 haue paffed .xvii. emperors,
 whiche were Julius, octauus, Tyberius, Caligula, Clau- ⁴⁹⁵
 dius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Uitellus, Vafpafianus, Ti-
 tus, Domitianus, Nerua, Traianus, Adrianus, Antho-
 nius, and Aurelius. And of all thefe we can fynde al on-
 ly but two, that fauoured wyfe men, that is to fay, Nerua
 and Traian. All the other emperours were not onely difci- ⁵⁰⁰
 ples of lyers, but alfo were perfecutours of the trouth.
 This femeth to be true, for Julius perfecuted Cicero:
 Octavius banifhed Ouide: Tyberi9 enpoyfoned Calui-
 tio, Caligula caufed to cutte the throtes of .iiii. oratours
 to gyther: Nero flewe his mayfter Senec: Claudius fet ⁵⁰⁵
 his vncle Lucan in prifon: Othus hāged vp Patroclus:
 Domitian banyfhed all the oratours of Rome: And the
 more to fhew his curfednes, whā the wyfe men y were ba-
 nyfhed went out at one gate, there entred at an other gate

(*f. 8^b) ⁵¹⁰ *al vnthriftes, the whiche by Titus his brother, had ben banyffhed and expelled. And as I faye of thefe fewe in nombre, I myght fay of many other. For certaynely the wyfe men were not thus intreted in the tyme of this good emperour Marcus: and that this is true it femeth by diuers
⁵²⁵ excellent barons, well lerned in diuers fciences, that flou- rifhed in his time: Julig Capitolin recoūteth of them as foloweth. Alexāder a greke, Trafion, Polion, Euti- cig, Anius Macrion, Caninius, Crodiaticus, Fornius, Cornelius, Apolonig, Nius, Sextus Cheronēfe, Juni-
⁵²⁰ us Rafticus, Claudig Maximus, Cina Catulus, Clau- dius Seuerus, and the renowmed Diogenitus paynter, & the wel lerned lawyer Uolufius Mecianus. Al thefe were in this emperours palays, and refident in his pre- fence: And yet for all that he had dyuers other wife per-
⁵²⁵ fons in Rome, & abrode in Italy. It was no meruayle to fe in thofe dais, the multitude of menne that flouryfhed in wyfedome. There was no father, but yf he had two fonnes, he wold fette one of them to ftudye, and the other accordynge to the Romaine lawe, fhulde be fette to the warres. And yf
⁵³⁰ this emperour wyfte of any wyfe yonge man, aboue all other he wolde fauour hym.

¶ Of the emperour Marcus fonne named
 Ueriffimus. capit. v.

⁵³⁵  His emperour Marcus Aurelius had onely two fonnes, as Herodian fayth. The great- est and eldeft was called Comode, and the yon- gest was named Ueriffimus. He was a fayre chylde of perfone, and right vertuous of lyuynge. With his beautie he drewe to hym the eies of many, and with his good inclinations he robbed the hartes of all men

(*f. 9) *men. He was the hope of the people, and the glorie of his fathers age. And though the eldest was prince, yet them-⁵⁴⁰perour determyned, that he [sic] laste borne, for his vertues shulde enherite as the eldest: And he that was fyrst borne for his demerites shulde be difherited. And as good defyres in the best tyme fayle often by vnhappy chance, this emperour being of .lii. yeres of age, and the sonne of .xvi.⁵⁴⁵ the glorie of Rome, and hope of the father, the lyfe of the sonne toke an ende. And as moche was the dethe bewayled, as the lyfe defyred. It was great pitie, for the senate by reafon therof sawe not themperour, nor the olde emperour for sorowe sawe not the senate of a long space.⁵⁵⁰ Rome was ryght heuy, and the senate withdrewe them to the height of the capitoll dyuers dayes. And as the mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to fall that were grene in fommer, and the dedes of honour constreyned vs to forget the myshappes of fortune, as a man of high lygnage⁵⁵⁵ and of stronge courage, though that sorowe remayne in their hartes, and abyde locked therin, determynethe to clenfe the braunches of sorowes that is outwarde, faynyng ioy and myrth outwardly kepyng the sorow within. Thus Marcus the emperour, as a man whose vyne fre-⁵⁶⁰feth and dyeth, wherin he had all his hope, contented hym with that was lefte behynde. Whan his dere sonne Uerifimus was deed, he sent for the prince Comode his onely enheritour, whiche fyth the chylde his brother was deed, entred not into the Palays. And the emperour feing the⁵⁶⁵ proude and outragious porte of his sonne Comode, bedewed his eien with salt water, remembring the shame of the one, and the dethe of the other. The whiche perceyued by Fauftyne his mother, whiche loued hym most entierly, commaunded to haue her sonne awaye fro the prefence of⁵⁷⁰ his father.

What

(*f. 9b)

*C What wyfe auncient men Marcus chofe to
instructe his sonnē. Capit. vi.



575

Hough that the harte of this emperour was occupied with the dethe of his chylde, yet for all that he reysed his vnderftondyng, to haue the prince his heire right well brought vppe.

For certayne principis bene fuche, whan they come to mans eftate, as they be broughte vp in their tender youth. The father than knowynge the frayle inclinations of his chylde, not correfpondent to the good gouernance of the empire, as a good emperour fente ouer all Italy for the moft wyfeft perfones in lernynge, the moft famous of renowme, and the moofte vertuous in dedes. And as in dyuers thynges the infamy is greater in the yll doinge by malyce, than the faute of the trespaffour by
580 weakenes: fo in dyuers other thynges, the cōmon voyce is more than the fecrete vertue. For the whiche occafion after the affemblynge of thefe wyfe men, the emperour commaunded to examyne them, and to be informed of the bloudde of their predeceffours, of the appoyntment in al
590 their thinges, and of the treatie of their busines, and of the credence amonge their neighbours, and of the purenes of their lyues, and grauitee of their perfons, and finally of their fcienes, what they coude doo, and this to be done in an order. The aftrologiens in aftronomie, the muftiens in muſike, the oratours in their art of retorike: and fome in other fcienes. And this not in one day, but in many, and not onely by information of other, but he wolde knowe hit by his owne propre experience. Thus they were all examyned, fo that there was none lefte be-
600 hynde. And as for perfyte knowlege of thynges, wherin we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue ſtrange ad-
uyfe

(*f. 10) *uyfe, clere vnderftandyng, and propre experience: fo the emperour commaunded to chofe out of dyuers a fewe, 7 out of the fewe the wyfeft, and of the wyfeft the moft expert, moft worthy, and moft auncient. And accordyng to the ⁶⁰⁵ .vii. artes lyberal there was affigned to euery ſcience two mayfters: fo that the prince was one, and the mayfters .xiii. This renowme that the Emperour fente ouer all to haue mayfters for his ſonne the prince, caufed to come to hym mo wyfe men from ſtraunge countreys, than of the ⁶¹⁰ marches and neybourſ of Rome. The good emperour confideringe that it was no reaſon that ſuche as came to his ſeruiſe ſhulde retorne myſcontented, ſome with ioyful wordes, ſome vpon certayn hope, and ſome with giftes and preſentes were diſpatched, fo that they were all ⁶¹⁵ pleaſed. And if this doinge was renowned by the report of the wiſe men, it was no leſſe vertuous by the wyſdom and worthynes of the emperour to ſende them home ſoo well content. For he ſent them away as wel ſatiſfied that were ouercom, as they were contēted that ouercam them. ⁶²⁰ And certaynly they had all reaſon, for ſome bare the ſwete wordes and ſatiſfieng of the father: and ſome aboode there charged with the enterpriſe of the ſonne. Yet the good emperour not beinge contented with this, commāded that theſe mayfters ſhulde be lodged in his palays, ⁶²⁵ 7 to eate in his preſence, and to accompany his perſone, to ſe if theyr lyfe were conformable to their ſcience, and yf their pleaſant 7 well couched wordes agreed in effect with their warkes. It was a meruaylous thyng to ſe the ſtudy and thought that the emperour had to regarde them, ⁶³⁰ as well in goyng as fedyng.

Howe

D. ii.

(*f. 10^b)

*¶ Howe it chaunced to fyue wyfe men, where they were put out of the emperours houle. Cap. vii.

IN the month of Septembre, the .xi. day therof, in halowyng the feaste of the Emperours natiuitie, in the same houle where as he was borne, in the place of mounte Cellio, As a trewande and
 635 sole doth lyke hym selfe, and semblably as he is accustomed to do: Then lyke as one dothe the semblable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to do: soo the emperour set more his intention on wyfe mē, than his
 640 eies on foles. He sawe .v. of them satte betynge the paue-ment with their feete, and arose from their places, clappinge their hondes, speakyng lowde, and laughyng exceedingly, the whiche was no lesse marked of the emperour than beholden. whan the feaste was done, he called
 645 them asyde, and sayde: Frendes, lette abyde with me the pitiefull goddes, and lette the good dedes goo with you. I haue chofen you to thentent that foles shuld be conuerted to wyse men, but I se wyse men become foles. Do ye not knowe that with the fyre of myxture golde is drawē,
 650 and by the lyghtnes of foles wyse men are proued? Certaynly the fyne golde defendeth his qualites in the quykournayes: and lykewise the wyse man sheweth his vertues amonge foles. wote ye not that a foole can not be knowen amonge foles, nor a wyse manne amonge sage folke?
 655 Amonge wyse men, the sole is made bright, and amonge foles wyse men do shyne. Do ye not knowe, what shame it is to make disciples of foles, maysters of princes? Know ye not that of the couragious vnderstanding procedeth the composition of the bodye, the reste of the
 660 person to be the temperance of the tonge? What profyteth it you

(*f.11) *it you to haue an experte tonge, a quicke memorie, a clere vnderftondyng, great ſcience, profounde eloquence, or a ſwete ſtyle, yf with al theſe graces ye haue a wycked wil? Wherefore wyl wyfe men haue their wordes ſo diſtincte & moderate, if their workes be lyght? And to thentent that 665 it ſhoulde not ſeme to you that I ſpeake of pleaſure, I wyll brynge to you an antike lawe of Rome. In the .vii. table of the lawes of our fathers was written theſe wordes: We commaunde that a more greuouſ chaſtyſement be gyuen to the wyfe man for a lyghte dede done openly, 670 than to a ſecrete murderer. O iuſt lawe and iuſt men that ordeyned it. For the ſymple labourer fleeth but one with his knyfe in his angre, but he ſ̄ is wyfe fleeth many with the euyll example of his lyuyng. Curioſly I haue regarded, that Rome begynneth to declyne, whā our ſenate 675 faylleth of meke and wyfe ſenatours, and multiplyeth with wiſe ſerpētines. The holy ſenate was adorned with olde prudent perſons: And not without teares, I ſaye at this houre it is full of ianglers and lyers. Aunciently in the ſcoles of Grece was taught only wordes, leauyng 680 the werkes: and than in Rome was taught to do werkes and leaue wordes. But now it is contrarye, for now in grece the lyers and ianglers are banyſhed, and hath ſent them to Rome: and Rome hathe banyſhed and ſente the good wyfe men in to Grece: and in this maner I deſyre ra- 685 ther to be banyſhed into Grece with wyfe men, than to abyde in Rome with fooles. To the prayſe of a good mā (I ſweare to you my frendes) that whyles I was yonge, I ſawe in the ſenate the philoſopher Crifiſippus (brought vp with good Traian) ſpeake oftentymes: and he was ſo 690 ſwete in his wordes, that many tymes he was harde more than .iii. houres togyther: And he neuer ſpake word but it was of eternall memorie. And whan ſo euer he wēt
out


D. iii.

(*f. 11^b) *out of the fenate, I neuer saw hym do dede wherby he de-
 695 ferued to haue greuous peyn. Certainly it was a meruail-
 lous thinge to se 7 here the estimation of his eloquence, 7
 the infamie of his person. All Rome was abashed of his
 high eloquence: and al Rome and Italy were sclanderred
 with his wycked werkes. The prosperite of Rome dured
 700 CCC. yere. And so longe Rome was Rome as it had sim-
 plicite in wordes, and grauitie in workes. One thyng
 I shal shew you, which is great confusion to them alyue,
 and great admyration to them that be deed, that of al the
 ancient men I neuer redde a lyght word that they spake,
 705 nor an yuell dede that they dyd. What thyng was sene
 than in that glorious world, but to reioyce in so glorious
 wyse men? And now at this daye the worlde is so corrup-
 ted, bycause there is so many yong corrupt, surely I haue
 greater enuie of their dedes than of our writynges.
 710 Their fewe wordes and good werkes haue lefte vs exam-
 ple of great admyration. And the wyse men of this tyme
 teache vs openly, and write vs secretly doctrines of par-
 dicion. Than by this that I haue sayde, and by other ex-
 amples that I shall say, ye maye knowe, what I meane.
 715 Whan the realme of Acaye submytted his peryllous hor-
 nes and his proude heed to the swete obeyfance of the em-
 pire, they drewe theym to the condicion that they wolde
 haue bene the hooftes of the garnysons of all Asye, and
 not disciples of the oratours of Rome. At a season there
 720 was in Rome a great lorde ambassadour of Acaye, tem-
 perate in wordes, and honeste of lyuynge, with a whyte
 heed: He was enquired of the fenate, why he was so cruel
 to leade into his countrey for men of warre poore and co-
 uetous squires, and leaue wyse men of great harte. He
 725 aunswered with such loue as he had to his countrey, and
 with suche grauitie as longed to suche a person, and also
 with

(*f.12)*with luche hardynesse as his office required. O fathers conscriptes, O happy people, It is .ii. dayes fyth I eate any thyng, and .ii. dayes fythe I flept, curlynge the fall destenies of fortune, that hath brought me into Italy, and lyghynge vnto the goddis that kepeth me in this lyfe, bycause my spirite is betwene the harde anuelde 7 the importunate hammer, where as I fe all is harde as the anuelde, wheron the hammer often strykethe. The thyng moſte peryllous amonge all perylles is to make election; ye conſtrayne me to choſe, and myne vnderſtondynge can not attayne therto: and the goddes doo not ſhewe me what I haue to chuſe. If I leade garyſons of menne of armes, it ſhall be very noyfull to the families: yf I brynge aduocates, it ſhall be peryllous for the common welth. Sorowfull that I am, what ſhall I do? and heuy and vnhappye realme, that abydeſh for theym, and ye cruell that commaundeth them. Than ſythe it is thus, I determyne me to leade them that ſhall waſte our goodes, and ſpende them, rather than they that ſhoulde corrupte and breake our cuſtomes. For a legion and an army by neceſſitie may put to affliction and ſorowe only a people: But an oratour or an aduocate by his malyce may corrupt a hole realme. Than ſayd the emperour to theſe wyſe men: Frendes howe greatte is the credence of ignorant people and loſſe of lerned men? Wherefore ſhuld they of Acaye rather gyue meate to poore ſowdiars men of armes, than to haue for their neyghbours oratours 7 wyſe ſpeakyng aduocates? So whan this communication of the emperour was ended, the .v. greatte mayſters went away with greatte ſhame, and the .ix. other taryed with great feare. In al this whyle it paſſed not two monethes after, that the prince Comode was come from his norces, where as he had lerned the doctrine of luckyng
of

(*f. 12^b) 760 *of brestes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of gret delicate vnderstonding. This prince Comode was borne in Rome on the mount Cellio, and nourished at the gate of Hostie. He was more welbeloued of Fauftina his mother, thē hated of Marcus Aurelius his father. And to
 765 speake with all due honour amonge theym, the mother helde her for certayne to be the chylde's mother: and the chylde accordynge to his customes was moche lyke his mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his sonne, bycause he refembled but lyttell in vertues to the father.

¶ Howe the emperour reasoned with the maysters
 that shulde lerne his sonne. Ca. viii.

770  L these matters beinge paste, the good emperour for to esteeme the thyng that he had done, and to puruey for that he had to do, he called alyde the nyne wyse men and sayde to them. There is great fame in Rome of that
 775 I haue done in thempire to do suche dilygence as to discover all the wyse men, and of the curiositie that I haue shewed as in retaynyng of the beste. If of trouthe ye be wyse, ye can not be sclaudered of any thyng. The annoyance of yll thynges cometh of wysedome and vertue,
 780 but the admyration of good thynges procedeth of small vnderstondyng or lesse experience. The wyse person wyll suffre none admyration. To shewe at the fyrste bront motion in euery thyng, sheweth to be constant in nothyng. I haue made strait examinatio among you, for so ought
 785 suche to passe as shulde be admytted to straye amities. New amities is very in thre dayes, and euer haue I sene it, and proued it by experience, that frendes lyghtly takē,
 are

(*f.13)*are lyghtly lefte agayne. I chaunced in cumpanye of an auncient Romaine, whiche was all whyte for aege: and bycause he merited it, I called hym father, and he for loue and nurture called me sonne: the whiche in case of aduerture enquired many thynges of me, but I wolde make hym none answere. Than he sayde those wordes to me: Son beholde, In the lawe of frendshyp it is written, that the frend in all thynges trusteth to his frende, first regarding who is his frende. Surely this counsel was good. The curious man of armes (if he wyl bye a horse) fyrst he wyll se hym renne and assayed, or he speake of the sale of hym: if he please hym not thoughe he myght haue hym for a lesse price; he wyll not haue hym: if he please hym, what so euer the price is set, he wyll not leaue hym. Than it is a lesfull thyng, that the beaste be examyned and felter he be had into the stable. In lyke wise a man shulde be examyned, er he be receyued in to the house. And yf the horse that eateth but hey, strawe and otes, be lefte for one yll tache, moche more the frende, whiche is the intestyne of the harte, and oughte to kepe our secretes and affections, for dyuers fautes ought not to be receyued in to the same. There was a philosopher named Arispo, the firste that was in the tyme of Silla and Marius, who sayde, that frendes ought to be lyke good horses: That is to say that they ought to haue a lyttell heed by humble conuersation: quicke of herynge, to the entent that they be redy whan they are called: a softe mouth, to thende that their tongue be temperate: The houe of the fote harde, to suffer trauayl: and theyr handes open to doo good dedes: their fete sure to perceuer in amitie: a baye colour for his good renoume: And finally the hors retourneth, that is the manuell frende: And thereto is ioyned these wordes: That is, that he be without curbes or byttes: and that he

maye

(*f. 13^b) *maye go where as any fatall deſtenyes tourneth the bridell and reyne of fortune. The goddes vnderſtande me, though that men can not atteyne therto or comprife it. Returnynge than to the purpoſe, I wyll ye knowe, bicauſe
 825 I haue taken you for frendes, not to putte you awaye at length, and though that cherytrees produceth their floures in Februarie, we abyde not to haue the cheryes but in Maye. Frendes ought to be as molberies, that in ſuche tyme produceth their beryes, whiche is their fruyte, that
 830 they feare not the froſtes of Maye, as the vynes doo, nor the myſtes of Octobre, as the peches and quinces do. I wyl ſay that they com whan the proſperite is good, and go away whan the fortune is nought. Of trouth it is not ſo of true frendes, As the lyes of wyne cauſeth drō-
 835 kardes to vomyt in the tauernes, lyke wife aduerſitie driueth away faynt frendes out of the houſe, bycauſe the ſeruice is not acceptable without the wyll be knowne of him that dothe it. Than holde you ſure of my contentation, ſyth that I haue it of your warkes. I come nowe to the
 840 effecte of our pourpoſe. I haue taken you for to be mayſters of this chylde: and regarde that I haue taken you fewe amonge many, to thende that my ſonne ſhuld be noted amonge fewe. His nurſes at the gate of Hoſtie haue gyuen hym two yeres ſucke of their mylke, and his mother Fauſtyne hath gyuen hym other two yeres to ſporte
 845 hym in the Palays. And I lyke a good father wyll gyue hym .xx. yeres of chaſtiſement. It ſore diſpleaſeth Fauſtyne his mother to leaue hym ſo ſone, and I am ſory that I toke hym ſo late. It is no meruayle, for theſe womenne
 850 with their lyghtnes, and theſe chyltern with theyr ſmalle knowlege occupie them ſelfe in thinges preſent. But worthy wyfe men ought to thynke on that is paſſed, and alſo to ordeyne for that that is preſent, and with great ſtudy to
 pro-

(*f.14)*prouyde for the tyme to come. I thinke on euery daye in the yere, and of the daye, that the goddis haue gyuen me, ⁸⁵⁵ and of the day that I gyue unto you. The goddes to me and I to you doo gyue hym mortalle to be as a man, and than you to me and I to god do render hym immortal to be wyfe. What wylle ye that I faye more? Certaynly god hath made hym man amonge men by the soule: and ⁸⁶⁰ I haue engendred hym a beaste amonge beastes by the fleshe, ye shall make hym a god among goddis by shape. I demaunde of you a thyng, whyche is, I haue not gyuen to my childe but mortalle fleshe, wherwith he shall take an ende of his lyfe, but ye shall gyue hym doctrine, ⁸⁶⁵ wherwith his memorie shall neuer perishe. If his youthe knew the weke and faynt fleshe that I haue gyuen hym, and that his dulle vnderstandynge maye reache to the wife-dome that ye may gyue hym, he wolde calle you fathers, and me an yl stepfather. And though he say not so, ⁸⁷⁰ yet I confesse it, that is, that the naturall fathers of the fleshe are stepfathers of noblenes, fythe that we gyue the naturalitie of them subiecte to so many mutabilities, and bonde and capitue to so many miseries. For certayne ye shall be iuste fathers to hym, yf as nowe ye can enhable ⁸⁷⁵ his fleshe in good custommes, and to brynge his vnderstandynge to be occupied with high sciences. And fyrs, repute it not smalle, that I commytte to your charge and arbytrement, that thyng whiche princis ought moſte to regarde, that is, to se to whom they commytte the nourishynge of their chylderne. To be maysters of princis in erthe is to haue the offyce of goddis that bene in heuen. For they gouern him that hath cure to gouerne vs: They endoctryne hym that shoulde teache vs, they shewe vnto hym that ought, to shewe vs: Chaſtife hym that oughte ⁸⁸⁵ to chaſtife vs: and fynally they commaunde one, the whiche

(*f. 14^b) *che afterwarde alone maye commaunde all the worlde.

What wyl ye that I shall say more? For certayn he that
 hath the charge of a prince, is the gouernall of the shyp,
 890 The standerde of an army, the gouernance of people, the
 guyde of wayes, the shelde of Kynges, the treasour of al,
 bycause they haue amonge theyr handes hym that after-
 warde ought to gouerne all the worlde. And furthermore
 to the entent that ye haue hym in more estimation, I wyl
 905 tell you, that in gyuyng my sonne vnto you, I do gyue
 you more than if I had gyuen you a realme. The pure
 clene lyuyng of the sonne aliue, is the glorious fame of
 his father that is deade. For of hym, that the sonne tru-
 stethe in his lyfe, dependethe the renowme of the father that
 900 is deade. Thus haue ye hadde the goddis atte wylle, and the
 bryttell destenies of fortune happy to you, as vnto this
 houre ye haue not watched with chyldren of straungers.
 Fro hensforth wake ye with the prince, whiche is the pro-
 fite of al other. And take good hede, my frēdes, that there
 905 is greater difference in bringyng vp of princis chyldren,
 than to teache yonge boyes of the common people. The
 moste parte of them, that come to scoles come for to lerne
 to speake: but I delyuer not my son Comode to you
 to lerne hym to speke many wordes, but for to sette him
 910 in the waye to do good dedes. The glorie of folyshe fathers
 is to se their chyldren vainquish other in disputyng: but
 my glorie and ioy is to se my sonne surmount other in
 vertue: bycause the glorie of the Grekes was to speake moche
 and to do lyttell, And the glorie of the Romaines was to do
 915 moche and to speake but lyttell.

¶ Howe the maysters of princis oughte
 to kepe them from vices.

Capitulo. ix.

Mar-

*f. 15) ***M**arcus Aurelius folowynge his pourpose,
 ioyned to his foresayde wordes, and sayde: Regarde well my frendes, and forgette not, that I truste you in myne honour, who am my sonnes father, and of the study of Comode my sonne, and of the glorie of Rome my naturall countreye, And of the solace and reste of Rome, whiche is my subiect: Of the gouernance of Italy, whiche is your countreye: and aboue al thynges of the peace and tranquillitie of our common welth. Than he that is put in truste with suche administration of other, hath no cause to slepe. Nowe lette vs come to more particular thynges. Regarde as nowe, what thyng is mooste conuenable for my sonne, whiche as a yonge colte wolde goo play in the grene medowes, and noysome shall be the keper to hym, & a thyng paynfull to kepe hym therfro. The first thyng, wherof I pray you, is to gyue hym a stronge bridel, and a sharpe bytte, to thentent that he be well mouthed, so that none take hym with lyes. The greattest faut that can be in men of honestie is to spare the trouthe, and not to be veritable: And the greatteste vilanye in a vilayne is to be gyuen in largeffe of lyes. Sette good order vppon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entente that he accustometh hym not to demaunde to play at the tables and dyce with suche as be losse and noughte. The greattest token that a prince woll lose and distroye the empire, is whan in his yonge age he is knowen to be vicious in play. The playe is suche a vice, that who soo euer it byteth, it is like the bytyng of a madde dogge, the whiche rage endureth vnto dethe. I recomende to you my chyld, though he be yonge make hym sad and moderate. Certaynly it is not so great a glorye vnto a prince
 *f. 15^b) *to haue the crowne on his heed, nor a chayn of gold about
 his

his sholders, nor the scepter in his hande, nor the greate company and garde that he hath about hym, as to shewe
 950 sadnesse from his youthe. The open honestie supplieth many fautes and debilities. Spare not to caste on hym a stronge chayne, and to tye hym faste, that he go not to delytes and vanyties. For an effeminate person neuer hath spirite to any hye or noble dedes. I am greatly satisfied
 955 with that the techer of Nero sayd to his discipule: Though I wyft that god wolde pardone me, and that men knewe no myffe of me, for the vilanye of the fleshe, I wolde not synne in the fleshe. Surely they were good wordes, and yll borne a way of Nero. Let not yet go the reyne. For if he
 960 se the yonge mares, he wyl neygh or bray yf he se tyme. The vyce of the fleshe in all tymes, in all ages, and in all estates holdeth his season or course, if it passe not in the grene age of chyldehoode, castynge out the reyne of reason, & stryken with the spurres of the fleshe, and blowing
 965 with the trompe of sensualitie: Takyng the bridell in the tethe with a furious will, rennyng through mountayns and woddes after the mare: In leauynge her goinge but softly, and in the ouertakyng moche lesse. And than afterward being therein delyberat, yf body remayneth im-
 970 potent, the vnderstandynge acloyed and blynded, the reason troubled, the good name lost, and yet neuertheles at the laste the fleshe remayneth fleshe. What remedy for this? I fynde none other but that a great quicke fyre couered and laden with erth dieth. And whan the vicious man is
 975 layde in his graue, he maketh an ende and may neuer correcte hym selfe. Wherefore I aduise you to gyue no place to this yonge chylde to be vicious. And in the chastisinge of hym, gyue no respyte, though he be yonge, and my child, and well loued and cheryshed with his mother, and
 (*f.16) 980 *though he be the only heire of thempire. With chyl dren of
 a stran-

a stranger crueltie is tyranny, but with a mans own child pite is the occasion of his losse in time to come. It is shewed vs by trees, how we ought to norishe our childrē. Of trouth the cheftain trees brynge forth the soft swete cheftnutte out of the sharpe pricking & hard huske. And on the 985 nut trees amonge the swete softe leafes, is nourished the harde nutte. Applieng this to our purpose, we haue sene a pyteful father, bringe forthe a cruell son, and a cruel father a piteful sonne. He that was lerned amonge al other lerned, and renoumed among al other renoumed, Lygurgus king of the Lacedemoniens, in giuing his lawes in his realme, I remembre to haue red therin these wordes: We commande as kynges, & pray as men, that al thinge be forgiuen to them that be olde and broken: and to them that be yong and lusty, to diffimule for a tyme: 7 nothyng 995 to be forgiuen to very yonge chyl dren. In good soth these were good wordes spoken of sliche a persone, and semeth reafone. For it is reason that the hors that hathe rounne and passed his course of cariage, shoulde reſte hym. And who that hath passed rightouſely, it is Justice that he be 1000 suffered in reſte. And the chylde that wyll passe reason, ought to be reformed. Cause hym to be always occupied in vertuous actes. For if the vnderſtondyng be dulled, and the bodye ſlouthfull in ſuche aegē, with great difficultie wyll they drawe to thynges that be ſtraunge to 1005 their delectations, bycause that the lyghteneſſe is in the heed, and reason vnder the eyes. His youthe wyll demaunde you ſome recreation, whiche ye ſhall conſyder, ſo it be not often nor to ſeldome. Fyrſte that it be by reaſon: Secondely that they be taken in noble exercyſes. Take 1010 hede, for I gyue not my ſonne vnto you, that ye ſhulde gyue hym recreation, but onely for to teache hym.

The

(*f. 16^b) *The henne hauynge her egges vnder her wynges, in that
 feason goth not abroad in the yarde, and though the eg-
 1015 ges be not her owne, yet she hatcheth theym, as yf they
 were her owne. For this cause at this tyme in Rome of a
 C. disciples, lxxx. cometh forth without doctryne, for yf
 their maysters wast two houres of doctrine with thē, they
 lese with thē .xx. houres in mockery. And therof it is, that
 1020 of the smal grauitie of the mayster, springeth great bold-
 nes and lyttell shame in the disciple. Beleue me frendes,
 that the teachers to princes, and maysters to disciples, pro-
 fite more in one daye with good examples, than in a yere
 with many lessens. My sonne seinge you drawe to ver-
 1025 tues, wyll drawe to the same, if he se you studie, he wyll
 study, if he se you peasible, he wyll be styll: he seinge you
 temperate in fedinge, wyll eate but lytel: seing you sham-
 faste, he wyll feare you, seinge you restefull, he wyll reste,
 and yf ye do contrarie, he wyll do contrarye. This surely
 1030 is true, for the auncient men onely with the euill that they
 se, eyther do they corrupte their bodies, or sclaunder their
 owne iugementes, as chyl dren do, that can say nothyng
 but that they here, nor do nothyng but that they se. I wyl
 also that the prince my sonne lerne the .vii. artes lyberall.
 1035 For I haue taken many of you, to thentent that ye shulde
 teache hym moche. And yf at the last we shulde be sorow-
 full, bycause he hath not lerned all, we shal not be sorie, if
 he knowe moche, nor thynke his tyme yll spent, nor be be-
 gyled, in saying, that he knoweth inough, of that so yōge
 1040 a chylde shulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire. A ve-
 ry philosopher after the lawe of lygnage oughte to haue
 speche at place and tyme conuenient, to fyght in the felde,
 and to speake in the senate. If my owne remembrance be-
 gyle me not, amonge myn antiquities I haue brought a
 1045 stone out of Grece, the which Pythagoras the philosopher
 held

(*f.17) *helde at the gates of his schole, wherin was written with his owne handes these wordes: He that knoweth not that he ought to know, is a brute beaft amonge men: He that knoweth no more than he hath nede of, is a man amonge brute beastes: He that knoweth all that may be knowen, ¹⁰⁵⁰ is a god amonge men. O moſte high wordes, Glorious is the hande that wrote them, the which not at the gates, as they were than, ought to be written, but within mens breſtis they ought to be paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the laſte ſentence of this philoſopher, and ¹⁰⁵⁵ the firſte rebuke abydeſh to vs their laſt chyldren. For certayne amonge the Grekes and Lacedemoniens was attayned as moche fame by their philoſophers and conquiſtes, as by their writinges, which they haue leſte vs. And our former emperours gatte no leſſe loue in their empire ¹⁰⁶⁰ by their profounde eloquence, then they feared all the worlde by their noble triumphes. For a proſe wherof beholde Julius Cefar, whiche beinge in the myddell of his campe, with his lyfte hande wolde holde his ſpeare, and his penne in his ryght hande. Ne he neuer leſte of his ar- ¹⁰⁶⁵ mour, but forthewith he toke his bokes. We muſt not lay excuſes, ſayinge with them that be ignorante, that the lyberall artes are to hye, and the tyme that we haue verye ſhorthe. For certayne the diligence of men in tymes paſte, reproueth our ſlouth at this day. One thyng I do ſe, that ¹⁰⁷⁰ in a ſhorthe whyle we lerne all yll, but in a longe ſeaſon we can not lerne goodneſſe. Wyll ye ſe, what is our fortunes and deſtenies, and in what thought the goddes doo kepe vs, that for to do one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many ſhrewde tournes we haue to moche tyme. I wyll ¹⁰⁷⁵ ſay no more, but that I wolde my chylde ſhulde be nourished in ſuche wiſe, that he ſhoulde lerne the feare of god, the ſcience of philoſophers, the vertues of auncient Romanys,

(*f. 17^b) *mayns, the quietnes of you his mayfters, and the good-
 1080 nelfe of all them that be good, as he hath taken of me to
 be the heire of the empire. I proteft to the immortal god-
 dis, to whom I trust for to go: and proteft to the high ca-
 pitoll, where my bones fhall be brent, that neyther Rome
 now in my lyfe, nor the heuens in tyme to com fhall curfe
 1085 me after my dethe, yf by yll lyuyng my fonne fhuld lefe
 hte [sic] common welth, if by your fmall chaftifement ye fhall
 be caufe of the loffe of the empire.

¶ How themperour Marcus nourifhed the prin-
 cefles his daughters. Cap. x.

Marcus Aurelius emperour hadde but two fonnes,
 that is to wytte, the prince Comode and Veriffime
 1090 He hadde foure daughters by Fauftyne his wyfe legitti-
 mate, and heires of thempire. This emperour was exce-
 dyng diligent for to nouriſhe his daughters: As ſoone as
 any of them were borne, forthwith they were putte to nurse
 into ſome ferme withoute Rome: He wolde neuer ſuffre a-
 1095 ny of his childrē, fonnes nor daughters, to be noryſ-
 ſhed within the walles of Rome: Nor conſente, that they
 ſhulde ſucke the breaſtes of delycate women. He hated
 delicate and gay nurſes: and they that were laborous
 homely and hoſome he loued, 7 to them and none other
 1100 he betoke his children to nouriſhe, and he wolde neuer a-
 gree, that they ſhoulde be brought home to his houſe.
 He was wont to ſaye in his ſportynge: I haue more adoo
 to content theſe nouriſſes, than to mary my daughters.
 Homer ſheweth, that in Grece there died Arthemio,
 1105 that was kynge of Argiue, withoute any ſonne to inhe-
 rite: and the nurſe that hadde nouriſſhed hym, with all
 her

(*f.18)*her myght demaunded the realme for a son of hers, whiche hadde sucked of the same mylke that the sayde kyng had done, allegynge, that fyth they were both nourished togyder, & sucked one mylke, that they both shulde enherite one realme. Thus said Homer, to reprove the nouryces of Grece, whiche toke more presumption for nourysshinge of princis, than quenes dyd in bearynge of them. Therefore this noble Marcus Aurelius emperour wolde not that his doughters alonely shoulde sucke grosse and rude mylke, but he wolde not agree, that any reuerence honour or seruice shulde be done vnto them, as it belongeth to the chyldren of so high princis to be done, and as the custome is to be doone. On a day as the sayde emperour was at supper a fole named Galyndo, at whose wordes the emperour often toke pleasure, sayd: Syr yester-daye I came fro Salon and fro the gate of Hostie, and there I sawe the emperours chyldren go lyke labourers, and I se here in thy hous labourers chyldren go lyke emperours: Telle me, why do ye diffimule as a wyse man, for I that am but a foole vnderstondeth hit not. The emperour aunfwered: O Galyndo, bycause that yet at this tyme Rome is not Rome, all thoughe thoroughly all the worlde hit be renowned Rome. In my selfe I fynde farre more affurance, that my children begyn lyke poore labourers, and ende as ryche emperours, thanne to begynne as ryche emperours, and ende as poore squiers. Doeft thou not know why Italy is nowe lost? They wolde haue their children to be wantonly and delicately nourysshed, and suffre theym not to lyue in trauaylle, and to leaue their heires poore and nedye, and them selfe to ende in greatte peryll. This answere was so excellent in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome. Whan this emperours doughters were twoo yere olde,

incon-

F. ii.

(*f. 18^b) 1140 *incontinent he prouided women and maystrelles for to teche theym. Sextus Cheronense laithe, that he lerched amonge the ancient matrones of Rome, whiche were cleaneft of lyfe, moofte eftemed of good fame, of nobleffe of bloudde, of fadde witte, and that had ben moofte vfed in
 1145 bringyng vp of princis chyl dren. This emperour was fo thoughtfull in the orderynge and teachynge of his children, that he wolde haue no woman, but yf fhe were of .l. yer es of age at the leafte, and .x. yere a wydowe, and that fhe had nourifhed a .C. chyl dren doughters of fenatours:
 1150 Imagining that fhe that had medled in fo many thyngis of other mens, fhulde not be ignorant in her owne. After that he hadde prouyded thefe mayftrelles, he caufed his doughters to be brought to their howfes, and there gaue thē their charge. And from the byrth of any of his doughters he wold neuer consent, that they fhuld come in to his
 1155 palays, tyll they fhuld haue hufbandes. It chanced that Fauftine the empreffe chylded a doughter, and fhe beinge certified, that it was like her and very faire, moued with a fofte herte of womanheed, and with a motherly herte,
 1160 prayed themperour, that the fayd chylde myght be nourifhed in her prefence, fith euery man fayde the chylde was fo fayre and fo lyke vnto them. The emperour answered and fayd: Fauftyne for thofe thynges that all other haue fayde to you, dothe it befeme you to demande this of me?
 1165 But I that haue red in this cafe, and in other cafes haue fene, in no maner ought to condifcende therto. Do you not knowe, that the tyme that the doughter is nouryfhed in the houfe, the father is charged with thought, the mother with wanton flatterynges, enuy in the brethern, boldnes in the doughter, and foly in the nouryce. I wold wite of you, if fhe were nouriffhed in the houfe, what profyteth it if her mayftres teache her faddenefle and honeftie
 1170 with

(*f. 19) *with her wordes, and we entice her to lewdnes with our workes or dedes? what profyteth it, if the doughter deferue chastifement, that the mother flatter and make her wanton? More reason it were, that your doughter shuld folowe the good doinges of you that are her mother, thā the wordes of the straunge wydowe that is her mayftres. Marke well Fauftyne, if ye oughte to reioyce at her chyl-dishe toys. Remēbre that the plesure of yong chyldren, is but chyldyshe and tryfles. But if you nouryshe them not well, as the pleasures were ioyful whan they were yonge, so whan they be olde to refreyne them shal be greater displeasure. Therefore if you be vertuous, withdrawe their iapynges trifles as now, for them that shal be vertuous. I wyll tell you one thyng. I wold rather my daughters in myn absence shulde be disciples to vertues, than to be maystresses in lewdenesse. And sythe it is so, I do desyre you, require it not of me. And I desire you that it be not so. I am importune on you, that ye be not importunate on me. I pray you that you pray not me. Or elles I commaunde you that you demaunde it no more of me. This harde aunswere of the father ceassed the importunitie and pitiefulle requeste of the mother. Thus Faustine all fearefull, seinge the father within the walles of Rome, durste not go se her doughter without, but as priuely as she myght.

¶ Howe Marcus themperour dyd chofe and proued his sonnes in lawe. Cap. .xi.

Like wife as Marcus Aur. the emperour surmounted in vertues al mortal men that died, for certayne in marienge of his daughters he seemed to be kin to the goddis, y euer lyue: 7 by the


F. iii.

(*f. 19^b) *the grace and gyfte of god, or by his fortune, he was as happy in vertuous sonnes in lawe, as greatly fortunate of dyfhoneste daughters. After the dethe of the good olde
 1205 man, with the smalle thoughte of the prince his sonne in his gouernance, and vngoodly fame of his daughters in their lyuing, it semed to haue made an ende of the glorious memorie of the father, but if it were by the fouerayne goodnes of his sonnes in lawe, that he had chose by his
 1210 lyfe tyme. It is dayly sene, that the losse of the father by euyll childerne, is wonne by vertuous sonnes in lawe. Than Marcus Aurelius confideryng husbandes for his daughters, toke not of dyuers that the vanitie of the worlde offered hym: but of a fewe that of many folkes
 1215 were esteemed to be of good behauour, and that to his menyng were suche in dede: and as in mariages all the error is to couete goodes that be in the purse, and not to examyne the persone that is brought to the houle: He regardynge this, married not his daughters to strange kinges,
 1220 ges, but to naturall borne senatours: and not to such as discended fro hygh lygnage, as were the Scipions, Fabricions, and Torquates: but to such that with their vertues reysed newly good lygnages: Nor he married them not to suche as were presumptuous of the prowes and
 1225 dedes of their predeceffours: but to them that resplendished by the dedes of their owne persons. Nor of trouthe he chose none that were very ryche, but suche as were vertuous: nor suche as were soone moued, but such as were quiete: not to the high mynded, but to the moderate, that
 1230 were no bosters, but shamefast, no bablers, but smal speakers: no quarellers, but sufferers: not to presumptuous, but to them that were meke: not to hasty men, but to thē that were pacient: not to them that were esteemed among the commons, but vnto them that deserued laude among
 wyfe

(*f.20)*wyfe men. In this maner he trusted no perfon, for he ma- 1235
ried not his doughter to fuche as were prayfed a farre of:
but to them that of long tyme had ben proued nerehand.
In good faythe herein his reafon was good. For in the
thyng that toucheth a mannes honour, he that is wyfe
ought not to trust in the onely information of ftrangers: 1240
Nor he is not wyfe, that is fo hardy to do all thynges by
his owne femyng and opinion. And he is but a fymple
perfone, that wyll do all thyng after the opinion of ftran-
gers. And in thefe poyntes the emperour Marcus had a
good refpecte to kepe them: In walkyng good ref: In 1245
fpeakinge great eloquence: in eatyng good temperance:
In aunfweryng greate subtiltie: In his sentences and
determinations great grauitie. And therfore in this cafe
of mariage he was ful of grauite tyl he was therin deter-
mined. And this only came not of hym, but of other, whā 1250
they came to pray hym. It befell that in a feaft of the god
Janus the emperour goyng to the campe of Mars vp-
pon a lufly horfe fyers and flyngyng, he mette fo rudely
with a trūpettour, that courfed as a knyght vpon a hors,
that with the froke of metyng the trumpetour was ouer 1255
throwen with his horfe, fo that he was flayne, and them-
perours hors legge broken, and his owne fote hurte, and
his arme out of ioynt. So greatly encreafed his hurte,
that he was in perylle, Italye in heynes, and all Rome
was in doubte of his lyfe. And bycaufe a fewe days afore 1260
that he had communication of a mariage for his thyrde
doughter, named Matrina for the determination that he
fhulde haue made the fame day, greate fuite was made to
hym. But he for the great peyn of his arme, and the blud
that was congeled in his bodye, and the anguyfhe that 1265
was at his harte, as for the demaunde that was offered
hym, he defferred the aunfwere tyll an nother daye. The
whiche

(*f. 20^b) *whiche daye comen, in open prefence he sayde in this manier.

¶ What the emperour Marcus sayde to the father of a yonge man that wolde marye one of his daughters. Cap. .xii.

1270 ftentimes I haue sene in other, and haue pro-
ued by experience, that the smalle considera-
tion passed, and the gret acceleration in busy-
nesses nowe present, maketh great inconueni-
ences in tyme to come, onles that at that point
1275 the thyng be commytted to the vertue of some wyse per-
sone, rather than to his owne sole opinion. Neuer the les
in the case of mariage though the father be wise, yet with-
out the opinion of an other, he ought not to determyn him
lyghtly, for enuious fortune, though she shewe her selfe
1280 somewhat frowarde in all thinges, yet in this case of ma-
riage, she ouerthroweth more than in al the other. He that
wyl speake of mariage, ought to entre into his owne se-
cretenes, and to thinke profoundly thereon, as of a thinge
that all his welth lyeth in, his credence, his lyfe, his ho-
1285 nour, his good fame, the reste of his owne persone, and
his fleshe, whiche is his chylde. I am of opinion, that if
all wyse men were molten in a founayes, they coude not
gyue one good counsell to make a mariage. And wolde ye
that I, whiche am simple, shulde do it lightly by my self?
1290 Truely therein behoueth ripe and sad counsell. For ones
fallen in to the perill therof, none may haue remedy with-
out greatter perylle. The renowned Marcus Portius,
whose lyuynge was a myrrour in his days, and his wor-
des and counsels remayne for a remembrance, sayd open-
1295 ly in the senate: O noble fathers and happy people, by the
decrees

(*f.21)*decrees openly proclaimed in places accustomed, I know that in a counfel and fenate ye ordeyned thre thinges, that is, ye vndertoke to make a newe warre againſte the Parthes, to continue the enmitie againſt the Peniens, and to marie .v. hundred matrones of Rome, to .v. C. knygh-¹³⁰⁰tes of Mauritanie. And certaynly I am abaſhed, that amonge wyfe men ſo high affaires ſhulde be ſo ſoone and ſodainly concluded and determyned. To ſatisfie myn vnderſtandyng, and for the good wyll that I owe to the countrey, I ſhall ſay one worde, that is, To begyn warre¹³⁰⁵ and to purſue hatred and yll wyll, and to conclude mariages, In theſe cauſes a man ought to aſke counſell of all the men of the worlde, and al the goddis ought to correct and amende it. And .x. M. counſaylynges wolde be holden vpon eche of theſe thynges. Theſe wordes were wor-¹³¹⁰thy of great recommendation. For one thyng by dyuers opinions ought to be determyned: But many thinges by one opinion oughte not to be determyned. And if this be for al thinges, it ſerueth than moſt ſpecially in mariages. My frēdes, ye ſay that he that offreth hym to be my ſonne¹³¹⁵ in lawe, is greatly deſired loued and wel named amonge the common people. To ſell ſuche marchandyſe, ſet it not in ſo yll a ſhewe. The credence of an honeſt manne lyeth not amonge the common voyce of the people, but among philoſophers: not amonge many, but amonge fewe: not¹³²⁰ amonge howe many, but what they be. ye know your ſelf that at this houre all that the commons thynke is but a vayne thyng: that they prayſe is falſe: that they condempne is good: that they approue, is nought: that they alowe is ſhamefull: and finally al that they lawde, is but¹³²⁵ folye. Their praiſinge begynneth with lyghtnes, their followinge without order, and it endeth with furie. O how many haue I ſene in Italy lyke the lyes of wyne caſt out
of the

(*f. 21^b) *of the senate, and after put as fyre brondes of tauernes in
 1330 Rome, by whole opinions the cōmon welth is gouerned,
 and with great lyghtnes men put downe, and with no les
 lyghtnes exalted agayne. Beholde here, that the werkes
 of the people are holden in mockage with wise men: and
 that that is agreed amonge theym, is esteemed but for va-
 1335 nities with wise men: For that that is meale with philoso-
 phers, is eaten but for brāne and chaffe with symple folk:
 and contrary wise the meale of the symple, is but branne
 7 chaffe among wyse men: Of all that our predeceffours
 haue lyfted, in these dayes the children of vanitie worke
 1340 therafter, for they wyll be defyred, and hate to be hated.
 All fuche holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that de-
 fireth to be beloued of euery man openly, can not escape
 fro dyuers secrete fautes. Shall I tell you who is best be-
 loued nowe adayes? Than harken to me, and I wyll tell
 1345 you, as moch as it toucheth, to whom it may touche, hurt
 who [sic] it may hurte, fele it who that may fele it. The people
 loueth hym, that can diffimule with them, that be nought
 and enuious of them that be good, and fuche as fauour
 lyers, and setteth trouthe aside, and fuche as accompani-
 1350 eth with mankyllers and murtherers, and to be serued of
 theues, and fauoureth quarellers, and pursueth such as
 be peafible: delyuereth offenders and fleeth innocentes,
 renoumeth them that be shameful, and shameth them that
 be of good fame: Finally he is most set by, y putteth them
 1355 that be good fro hym, and is the most vayne among them
 that be vayne. Certainly there is great suspection to sette
 hym amonge wise men, that is allowed of all foles. And
 the reason therof is, that the commons lightly loue none
 but men that with malice refreyneth them that be vertu-
 1360 ous, and letteth the reyne slyppe to them that be vicious.
 Truly wyse men haue hym as suspect that the commons
 defyre,

(*1.22)*desyre, whiche wyll not be displeased with his yl doinges. O howe often tymes doth the goddis permytte the ambitious man in honours, that procureth to do yl many dais without Justice, and dothe not be holde [sic] the sodayne hole ¹³⁶⁵ losse therof with shame? Than take this word of me, that in the multitude of men there are fewe to be prayfed, and many to be repreued.

¶ Howe a sonne in lawe ought to be wel examined er he be accepted to his purpose. Cap. xiii.

NOwe to come to our particular purpose, ye amonge you do prayse this yonge man, and yf ¹³⁷⁰ his werkes be as your wordes, he shulde not onely say, that he hath merited to be my sonne in lawe, but rather meriteth to be onely enheritour of the hole empire. And therefore I wolde witte of you, wherof you can prayse this your kynfeman, that ther ¹³⁷⁵ be no contrarietie betwene his werkes and your wordes. If he be rusticall, it abateth hym fore: if he be of hyghe blode, he wyll be presumptuous: if he be ryche, he wylle giue him to vicioufnes: if he be pore, he wyl be couetous: if he be valyant, he wyll be ouerbolde: yf he be a coward ¹³⁸⁰ he is defamed: if he be a great speaker, he shall be a lyer: if he be to lyttell a speaker, he shall be noted as vnwife: yf he be faire, he wyll be coueted: if he be fowle, he wyll be ielous. Than if he be quite of all these, I swere to you that I wyll gyue hym my doughter Matrine with al my ¹³⁸⁵ hart. I do not say this vnto you, bicause I suppose any yl in your kynsman: but to thentent that ye shulde thynke, that I say it accordynge to my naturalitie. And than sith I say it not agaynst your credence, for the knowlege that ye haue of him, mystake not my suspection, sith that I am ¹³⁹⁰ hole.

(*f. 22^b) *hole ignorant of this yonge mans lyuynge. And I wyll not, that ye shulde thynke, that the chylde my doughter, that hath ben brought vp in so great vertu in my palays, shulde be maried to this yong man for the only fame that
 1395 he hath amonge the people. O howe often haue I sene in our tyme nowe, and haue redde of the worlde passed, the whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at an other tyme by their yll workes hath deserued hit, at an other tyme by their sorowfull destenies haue permitted it,
 1400 wenyng for to brynge sonnes in lawe in to their howse, haue brought in a hell: In stede of wyfe and faire doughters, haue recouered adders: In sekyng sonnes, haue founde basilicke serpentes: In byenge of bloudde, poyson delyuered: In sekyng frendes, they haue founde en-
 1405 nemies: In demaundyng honour, shame hath be giuen: and finally in marienge their children, wenyng to haue lyued merily, the sorowfull fathers haue had an euyl life and a wors dethe. And in case that such ought to be mo-
 1410 ned more of them that be ioyous, than they that ben forye of them that ben ioyous: as well oughte we to approue the iuste chastifement of the iuste goddes, by the vniuste workes done to iust men. For he deserueth great chastifement, that with ferefull hardynes as a foole determineth hym selfe in high and difficult thinges with sodayn coun-
 1415 sell. And therefore my frendes, if ye be vertuous, be not abashed of that that I saye, nor take the examination that I make in a sclaunder: If I take this yonge man to be my sonne, to be sonne in lawe to Fauptyne my wyfe, hus-
 bande to my doughter Matrine, broder [sic] to Comodus the
 1420 prince, felawe to them of the senate, kinsman to my kinsfolke, and lorde of my seruantes: It is reason, that such a robe ought well to be regarded, sythe that so many per-
 sones must weare the lyueray therof. The garment that

(*f.23)*fo many perſones muſt weare, muſt be wiſely cut, to content them all. We ſe naturally many thynges noyfull to ¹⁴²⁵ vs, if it be nere vs, and yet damageable to vs ferre of. The ſonne with his ſhynynge beames dothe parche the fleſſhe of the people of Ethiope, bycauſe it is nere vnto theym: and contrarye wiſe it dothe no greſe to their perſons that inhabite in the ende of Europe: for bycauſe it ¹⁴³⁰ toucheth theym a ferre of. There haue bene dyuers ſonnes of Rome, whiche beinge in ſtraunge countreys, haue done great profite to the common welth, and no leſſe famed throughout the worlde, which after they were returned to their owne houſes, haue ſpilte more bloudde of in- ¹⁴³⁵ nocentes, than they had done before of the Barbariens. And that it is ſothe demaunde of Julius Cefar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Caſius, of Catilina, and of Lipulus, of Octavius, and Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula and of Nero, of Othus and Domitianus. ¹⁴⁴⁰

And as I ſay of ſo ſmall a noumbre of baſtarde chyldren that helde Rome, I maye ſaye of dyuers other tyrauntes broughte vppe in Italye. Beleue me in one thyng, All that is agreable to vs abroode, agreeth not to vs yf we bringe them into the howſe. For there goth many thin- ¹⁴⁴⁵ ges betwene the entreatinge of a man in wordes, and to be longe conuerſant with hym in workes. Lyttell nedeth humayne ignorance for to begyle an other, and yet leſſe to be begyled of many an other. With a meke viſage, ſwete wordes in the tongue, good delyberation in the perſone, ¹⁴⁵⁰ temperance in the worde, euery one may begyle an other nowe adayes: and by ſhrewdenes and malyce, is begyled hym ſelfe. I ſay to you, I beinge a yonge man knew the famous oratour Tauryn propoſe dyuers tymes in the ſenate: And on a day he ſpake for a Romain matron, which ¹⁴⁵⁵ ſhulde haue married an honeſt doughter of hers to a mayſter

(*f. 23^b) *fter of horfes, by femyng a Romaine, and not very well appoynted: And amonge other wordes he fayde: O noble fathers, O happy people, Commande not that thinge
 1460 that afterwarde ye wolde were not commaunded: An yll mariage is lyke as he that fhoteth a pellet of duft, it hurteth hym that it toucheth, and blyndeth them that ftande nexte. Sothely thefe were hie wordes, and the comparyfon well vnderftonden, conteyneth in it fentences of gra-
 1465 uitie. It is manifelt to all men, that an ylle fonne in lawe is the deathe of the wyfe that hath hym, fhame to the fren- des that procured it, and at the lafte an yll ende for hym felfe, and for his father that offered it. Than by all thefe thynges that I haue fayde, ye may vnderftande what I
 1470 thynke in this mariage. His sayinges thus ended, the Senate was greatly edified therwith, and the knyghtes, kynsfolke to this yonge man, greatly abafhed: and Fau- ftin the empreffe fore confused: for by her introduction, the matter was moued: 7 how this mariage fayled, the hifto-
 1475 riens write not, whom we haue folowed in this werke.

¶ Howe Marke the emperour fauoured all noble exerce-
 fes, and hated trewandes and fooles. Cap. xiiii.



He vertues of this good emperour, and the knowlege of fciēces, the worthines in armes, and the purenes of his lyuyng, caufed hym to be named among the famous mē of Rome:
 1480 The gentyll conuerfation that he had with euerye man, made hym to be renowned amonge the worthyest of all the worlde, the thyng moſte agreable without reprehencion of the greatteſt, meane, and leaſte is, that a lorde and prince of many to be communicable and conuerfant with
 1485 many. All the good werkes of good men may be condem-
 ned

(*f.24)*ned with the yll intentions of theym that be ylle: But the good condicions haue such a priuilege, that of yl the good is prayled, and the god approueth the yll. In a mans lyuyng there is none so great a vice, but by good conuerfation it is couered and hyd: And contrary wise no crime is ¹⁴⁹⁰ so secrete, but with yl conuerfation, at the tyme that it hurteth it is more openly knowen. Of two extremities it is not so greuous to the common welthe, a man to be weke and faynt in secretenes, 7 of gentyl conuerfation abroad, as it is of hym that is secrete, and is rude and of yl conuerfation opely. Dyuers not being of good order 7 polycie, we haue fene cōuerfant a gret whyle in Rome, only for beinge wel condicioned. And many mo we haue fene, that in a short while after they were put in office haue bene so proude and hafty in their condicions, that they haue bene ¹⁵⁰⁰ depriued from their offices. And this we say bycause this good emperour was so ioyous of vyfage, soo amyable in his customes, so lounge in his conuerfacion, that lyghtly he wolde caste his armes aboute the necke and on the shulders of them, and take them by the handes, that had ¹⁵⁰⁵ any thyng to do with hym. The porters shulde not lette them that wolde accompany hym in the palays: Nor his garde was not so hardy to put abacke such as wold speke with hym in the felde. In all his aeges he applyed to that that euery age gaue hym by nature: He was a childe ¹⁵¹⁰ amonge chyl dren: yonge amonge yong folkes: worldly with them that were worldly: good felawe with good felawes: A baron among barons: Hardy with hardy men: and fynally olde with olde menne. He was wont to saye, whan any in his prefence that were yonge and not welle ¹⁵¹⁵ taught in their language, gested at the debilytie of age, or olde mē at the foly of youth: Leauē them fith they leue you. Many tymes of wyse yonge men cometh olde foles:

And

(*f. 24^b) *And of yonge fooles customably cometh wyse olde men.

1520 Naturalitie at the last maketh al thyng in kynde. As of
 greatte debilitie we can drawe but smalle strengthe, by
 our naturalitie we may for a tyme resiste it, but not vtter-
 ly maister it. I am fore abashed that some that wyll be foo
 lordely and valiant in vertues and so high mynded, that
 1525 they wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuinge in the fleshe,
 7 being of fleshe, only fele not the fleshe. I can not tell,
 yf nature hath made other of an other nature than I am
 of, or me of an other nature thanne other be, for I beinge
 neuer so faste inclosed in the swete conuerfation of philo-
 1530 sophye, ye in the beste tyme, this false fleshe wolde calle
 atte the gate with his noughtye fleshe. The more that
 we reyse and exalte vs with science and gette lyberties,
 the more lower we do putte the fleshe with her myse-
 ries. Beleue me one thyng, that if a tree beareth not in
 1535 Prymetyme his floures, we hope not to haue the fruite
 in harueste ripe: and a yonge man that hathe not passed
 his youthe with yonge people, we haue no hope that he
 shulde passe his age with olde men. And as we may resist
 our naturalitie and not cleane to fordoo it, those fathers
 1540 erre, that are so extremely affectioned, to haue their chil-
 dren to begynne as olde men, whervpon it foloweth, that
 they ende as yonge. This emperour was so wyse in all
 thynges, that amonge theym that were mery, he was of
 great myrthe: And in verities he was very veritable: In
 1545 his pastimes he was greattely temperate, and a louer of
 musike, specially in good voyce and instrumentes, and
 soore displeased, yf he harde any discorde therin. He pas-
 sed most of his youthe in lernynge of sciences. Whan he
 came to mans state, he exercised feates of knyghthode:
 1550 he loued discipline and not of adulation. He was apt and
 happye in armes, but yet in rydinge of horses he hadde
 ofte

(*f.25) *ofte tymes yll happe. In his yonge age he delyted to play at the tennys, and at the cheffe in his aege. He loued not these counterfaityng players of farces and mummeries, and yet lesse trewandes that ben naturall fooles, iuglers ¹⁵⁵⁵ and gesters for pleasure. The players and gesters suffred great varietie in the empire, accordynge to the diuerfitie of emperours. Julius Cefar fusteyned them, Octavian his neuewe droue them awaye, Caligula called theym agayne, Cruell Nero banyshed them, Nerua made theym ¹⁵⁶⁰ come agayne, Good Traian banyshed them out of all Italy, Anthony pius brought them in ageyne: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romayns dyd celebrate with great ioye the .iiii. daye of Maye the great feaste of ¹⁵⁶⁵ the mother Berecynte, mother of all the goddis. The sacred priestes *flamines* diales, wold haue brought thither these minstrelles iuglers and iesters for to reioyce y^e feast, and contrary wise the holy nunnes vestales, wolde haue done the same, so that variance felle betwene them, some ¹⁵⁷⁰ with force, and some with resistance, and many ranne thider in fauouringe of both parties, and not a fewer to departe them. The cruell and greatte noyse of slaughter amonge them was suche, that it tourned the feaste to wepynges, the pleasures into sorowes, and their longes in- ¹⁵⁷⁵ to waylynges. This good emperour laboured to pease this furie of the people, and to sette peace among the neyours of Rome. Whan al was done he made curious diligence to serche out all the players, iuglers, and iestours of Rome, and in al the circuite of Italy, that they might ¹⁵⁸⁰ be chaftised, and Rome delyuered of them. And for example of all the worlde he sente theym to the gate of Hostie, and commaunded to set theym in Galies, and to banysshe them for euer into the yles of Hillespont: whiche was ac-

com-

(*f.25^b) 1585 *complyshd as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daye was neuer sene at Rome iugler nor gester, as longe as themperour lyued. But hit passed not two yeres after his deathe, but they retourned, whan his sonne had the rule. And excepte the bokes doo lye, there was in Rome 1590 greater nombre of fooles than of wyfe men.

¶ Of the good conuersation of this emperour
Marcus Aurelius. Cap. xv.

WE haue sayd of the hatred that this emperour had to trewandes, reuelers, getters, iuglers, gesters, and suche other: Now will we speke of his laudable exercises of them that came 1595 to hym. To be welle condicioned the malyce of mankynde is so great, that as good men are bounde to regarde the yll, so do they that be yl regard to distroye the good. The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis with them y^e be good, as the vice 7 dishonestie of euyl folkes is 1600 in euyl thynges. What greater corruption in this worlde may be, than a vertuous persone for one worke of vertue can not fynde one to helpe hym to worke it, and whan he alone hathe wroughte it, there cometh tenne thousande to gaynesaye hym? The greattest goodnesse of all good- 1605 nesses is whan tyrannies ar put vnder by vertues acquyred: or to fynde remedy agaynste accustomed vices with good inclynations. And the greattest euyll of all euylles is whan a persone forgetteth that he is a man, puttynge reson vnder fote, straining his hand ageynste vertue, and 1610 letteth vice rule the bridle. This emperour M. Aurel. susteyned in his lyfe great glorie in the eschewinge the villany of vyllaynes: no les merited he immortall memory in sufferynge dyuers dishonestyes in the execution of his
ver-


(*f.26)*vertues. An vnfallible reule it is amonge the chylderne of vanitie, to chylde the vices of theym that be vicious. ¹⁶¹⁵ And the vertues welle incorporate nouryssh the many enuyous. They that be ylle, bene alwayes double ylle, bycause they beare armour defensiue to defende their owne yuelles: and armes offensyue to assaylle the good manners of other. The trowthe is, yf good menne be dily- ¹⁶²⁰ gente to seeke other that be good, no lesse oughte they for to hyde theym from theym that be ylle: for a good manne with one fynger hathe power ouer all theym that be vertuous, but for to withstonde one ylle persone, he hathe nede of handes feete and frendes. And thoughe fortune ¹⁶²⁵ be ylle to good menne, their owne propre fame shall be spente as of straungiers. This good emperoure was stronge in vertue, meeke in wordes, attemperate in his exerceyses, homely with euerye man, sadde amonge sadde men, hafty amonge hafty men, Mery with mery men, and ¹⁶³⁰ wife amonge wife men, as it is conuenable for a curious prince to be. And whan these are approued in the lawe of good men by clere vnderstandyng, as well shall they be condempned by theym that haue ylle intencions. Than as the cooles can not be in the embres without sparkis, ¹⁶³⁵ nor corruption of caryon withoute stench: no more can he that hath a hole and clere herte be, without inforcyng hym to vtter louyng wordes: And he that hath an ylle harte, alwayes ouercommeth other with wordes of mallice. For it is certayne, for a smalle season the louer may ¹⁶⁴⁰ absteyne his loue, and yet lesse tyme the payne of hym, that is payned with loue hydde. The sorowfulle syghes shewe the hurte of the herte, and the malicious wordes discouer the yll of the harte. We haue sayd all this bycause that the bountie of this good Emperour Marcus Au- ¹⁶⁴⁵ relius fet all his ioy and gladnes in them that were good, and

H. ii.

(*f. 26^b) *and bewayled them that were ylle. And as in fемblable thynges the worthy men shewe their worthynes, and wife men their wisedome, beinge vertuous in workynge and
 1450 wife in knowlegynge, were very wise in diffimulyng. One of the vertues that a wise man ought to haue (wherin he shall be knowen as wyfe) is that he can suffre welle. For a mā that can suffre wel, was neuer but wise 7 wel manerd, and therwith to suffre the vertue of yll busines is a thyng
 1455 reasonablen of all reasonablen bestes [sic], and of them that be good very good. And by contrary wise the man that can not well suffre, though it be in very iuste thinges, hopeth not to be well treated. And lykewyse as this emperour Marcus in all vertues hath ben egall with all the empe-
 1460 rours of Rome that haue bene, In this vertue of sufferance he hath surmounted all them of the world. He was wont to say many tymes: I haue not attayned to the empire by the sciēces that I haue lernid of the philosophers, but by the pacience that I haue had with them that were
 1465 frowarde and not lerned. And this semeth to be true: for oftentymes this emperour beyng with the Senate at Collisee, or the Senate with hym in the hyghe Capitoll, he seyng in his prefence dyuers that prayfed hym, and other that in his absence amonge the people blamed hym
 1470 and rebuked hym, his attemperance yet was so greatte, and shewed hym selfe so iust with one and other, that neyther his frendes that agreed with hym were sorowfulle, nor his ennemies for any diffauour went away complaynyng and angrye.

¶ Of the feast that the Romaynes kept to the god
 Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the
 sayde emperour there. Cap. xvi.

Amonge

(*f.27)  Monge the solempne feastes, that the aunci- 1475
 ente Romaynes hadde inuented, was one of
 the god Janus, kepte the firste daye of the
 yere, whiche as nowe is the fyrste day of Ja-
 nyer: He was paynted with two faces, to
 shewe that it was the laste day of the yere passed, and the 1480
 begynnynge of the newe yere. To this god was dedicate
 a sumptuous temple in Rome, whiche Temple Numa
 Pompilius called the temple of peace. And except the tem-
 ple of Jupiter, it was holden in moste reuerence of all o-
 ther. Whanne the Romayne emperours went or came to 1485
 Rome to visite the high capitoll, and the vestall virgins,
 forthwith they went to pray, worlhyp, and to offre at the
 temple of Janus. The day of celebration of the sayd feast
 all Rome reioyced, and put on them the beste clothes that
 they had, brennyngre greatte lyghtes in euery hous, and 1490
 made many plays of interludes, of gestes and iuglyng, 7
 watched al nyght in the temples, 7 delyuered al the priso-
 ners that were in prison for debt, 7 the debtes paide with
 the common treasour. They had tables with meate before
 their doores in luche habundance, that more was leste thā 1495
 eaten, wherwith all the poore folkes in Rome were rele-
 ued. The Romayns thought, that what so euer they spēt
 that day, that the god Jano (whiche was god of tymes)
 wolde rewarde them double. The Romaynes saide, that
 this god Janus was not vnkynde and a nygarde, for 1500
 if they spent a lyttell, he wolde recompence theym with a
 great deale. At this feaste was made great processions,
 euery sorte of people by them selfe, the senate went a part,
 the priestes aparte, The Cenfores a parte, the plebeyens
 a parte, The matrones and yonge maydens by them self, 1505
 and the ambassadours went in procession with al the cap-
 tiues and prifoners. Thus they went euer two and two:
 the

(*f. 27^b) *the ende of one company was the beginnyng of an other.

And thus out of the temple of Janus, they went aboute
 1510 all the temples of Rome, and so out of Porte latine into
 the felde, and rounde aboute the walles of Rome. And
 bycause the circuite of Rome was greate, the proceffions
 went but from one gate to an other, so that towarde night
 all the proceffions of Rome had gone euerychone in their
 1515 company aboute: And that done they retourned all into
 the temple that they came out of, and there offred echeone
 as they myght. And in the sayde proceffions it was of cu-
 stome, that the emperours went accompanied with the se-
 natours: but this good emperour was so familiar, that
 1520 he wolde honour and accompany euery man. It was ac-
 customed in Rome, that the sayde day themperour shulde
 weare on his robe, and mantell imperiall. And all priso-
 ners and captiues that myght touch hym with their hād,
 were delyuerd, 7 al trespaffours were pardoned, and bani-
 1525 shed folke were forgiuen, and callyd agayn. And this em-
 perour to vse his clemency, and to leaue after hym perpe-
 tuall memorie, lefte the proceffion of senatours, and with-
 out any gard went the proceffion with prifoners and cap-
 tiues. The whiche doinge was occasion to leaue behynde
 1530 hym perpetuall memorie of him selfe, and great example
 of clemencie and lowlynes to princes for to come. Howe
 be it there is nothyng so well done of them that be good,
 but forthwith it shalbe contraried of them that be yl: And
 therefore this example was as moche dispraised of theym
 1535 that were yll, as praysed and allowed of them that were
 good. And in likewise as among them that be good there
 is one noted to be pure good, so amonge them that be ylle,
 there is one noted to be right ylle. And that worfe is, that
 the vertuous persone esteemeth not the glorie of his vertu
 1540 so gret, as the malicious person by his malyce is shamid.

This

(*f.28)*This is sayde bycause there was a fenatour in the senate named Fuluius, whiche was as blacke by his malyce, as white by his heares. He laboured fore in the dayes of Adrian to haue ben emperour, and had Marcus alwayes as competitour. And as it is a natural thyng to them that ¹⁵⁴⁵ haue yll hartes to shewe theyr malice in small thynges, so this emperour dyd neuer good thyng openly, but this Fuluius wolde grudge therat secretly. And though this emperour was greatly prayfed for the delyueringe of prisoners, yet the sayd fenatour coude not haue the prudence ¹⁵⁵⁰ for to suffre it, and so parte in mockerie, and parte in earnest he sayde these wordes to the emperour in the senate: Why gyuest thou thy selfe to all men?

¶ Howe Marcus the emperour aunswered a fenatour in the senate. Cap. xvi. [sic].



He emperour Marcus Aur. heringe what the fenator had sayd to hym in the presence of the ¹⁵⁵⁵ fenatours, that is to witte, Wherefore he gaue hym to all men, He answered: Frende I giue me to all men, bycause all men gyue them to me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a prince causeth hatred of the people, the goddis will not, nor the ¹⁵⁶⁰ lawes permit not, nor the agrement of the cōmon welthe wyl not suffre, y^e princes be lordis ouer many, 7 to accompany but with a fewe. I haue redde in bokes, 7 haue proued it by my selfe, that the loue of subiectes, the suretie of the prince, the dignite of thempire, and the honour of the ¹⁵⁶⁵ Senate, do conferue the prince, not with rigour, but with gentyl conuersation. The fyfher goth not to take dyuers fyshes of the riuer with one baite, nor y^e mariner with one nette entreth in to the see. I promyse you the depenes of good

(*f. 28^b) 1570 *good wylles oughte to be wonne with the depenes of the harte, some with giftes, some with wordes, some with promyses, and some with fauours. The infaciate couetous men are neuer content, nor wyll open their affections, but locke vp their treasours. And luche as serueth for loue, ar
 1575 lesse content with openyng of their treasure, than locking vp their wylles. It is an olde prouerbe of Pythagoras: Loue is payd with other loue. O how yl fortune it is to a prince, 7 how vnhappy it is to a cōmon welth, whā the people serue not their lordes but for rewardes, 7 the lordes to
 1580 kepe 7 mainteyne them, but for their seruice. With diuers stones 7 one cyment buylding is reysed, and of dyuers mē and one lorde is compofed a common welthe. And if geometrie begyle me not, the mortar that ioyneth one stone with an other, ought to be medled with sande and flecked
 1585 lyme by refon. Separate the stones, and the wall openeth, and let the cyment fayle, and the edifice falleth. He that is wife, may well vnderftonde me. Loue betwene neybouris suffereth to be mytigate with water: but it is requiſyte, that the loue of the prince and his people be pure. Dy-
 1590 uers trowbles, and at dyuers tymes I haue ſeene amonge the common people of Rome in one day moued 7 appeased: but one diſcorde reysed betwene the lorde and the common welthe, vnto the dethe is neuer accorded. It is a difficile thyng to make appoyntment of many with
 1595 many, and more difficile to accorde one with an other. But without comparifon more harder it is to appoynt diuers with one, than one with dyuers. And in this caſe I wyl not faue the prince nor leue the people vncondēpned. Fro whens (as ye think) cometh it now a days, that lordis
 1600 with annoyauce commaunde vniuſt thynges, and in iuſte thynges the ſubiectes are vnobedient? Nowe here me 7 I ſhall tell you. The prince doinge a thinge in dede, and

(*f.29) *not of righte, will confounde the wille of euery man, and beleue his owne vnderftandyng, and drawe of hym felfe and all other his only wyll. Contrary wife, the multitude ¹⁶⁰⁵ of the people difprayfinge their lordis vnderftondyng, do as they wyll: not as all wylle, but as euery man defy-reth hym felfe. Of trouth it is a greuouſe thing (although it be greatly accuſtomed) to wyll that all gownes ſhulde be mete for one man, and that one mans harnes ſhulde be ¹⁶¹⁰ mete to arme all men. Than what ſhall we do, that our fathers haue left thus in the worlde, 7 alſo we hold that we be their children, and that wors is, we leaue the ſame to our heires? O howe many princes of my predeceſſours, that I haue redde of, haue bene loſte, in ſhewyng theym ¹⁶¹⁵ felfe ouer ſtraunge, and beloued of none? I wyll tel you of ſome of them for examples, that I haue redde in my bokes, to thintent that princes may ſee what they wyne by amiable conuerſation, and what they loſe by ouermoch ſtraungenes. In the realme of Affiens gretter in armes ¹⁶²⁰ than the Caldeens, and leſſe in aduantage and antiquite than the Affiriens: One maner forme of kyngis endured amonge them .CC. and .xx. yeres, by reaſon they were of lowable conuerſation. And an other fourme and maner (as Homer faith) laſted but .xl. yeres bycauſe their kyngis ¹⁶²⁵ were of an yll condicion. And the .ix. Epiphanes of the Egiptiens was vnnombred and put down, bycauſe there was a lawe that echone ſhulde be bare legged in the temples vpon the holy days. And this kyng on a day riding came before the god Apis, god of the Egiptiens, the whiche thinge was not ſuffred, for beſide that he was put out of his realme, he was chaſtified. Alſo the .vi. Arfacidauell the inuincible kyng of Parthes, not only was depriued, but alſo banyſhed out of his realme, bycauſe he dyned at a knyghtes bridale, and wolde not eate at the bridale of a ¹⁶³⁵ comuner.

(*f. 29^b) *cōmuner. yet also though the realme of Italy was scant,
 their hartis were greatte: for bycause one of their Mar-
 ranes, for so were their kynges called, had shette his ga-
 tes by nyght for to slepe the surelyer, he was depriued of
 1640 his realme: bycause a lawe was made, that no prince
 shulde shette his gates nyght nor day: for they sayd, they
 hadde made hym kyng for to driue away their ennemies,
 and not to be daintily nourished. Tarquine the laste king
 of the Romainys was vnkinde to his father in lawe, dif-
 1645 famed his blode and kynrede, was traytour to his coun-
 trey, cruell of his persone, and aduoutrer with Lucrece:
 but for all that he was not called vngentyll, nor infamed,
 nor traytre, nor cruell, nor aduoutrer, but he was named
 Tarquine the proude, bycause he was of ylle condicions
 1650 and complexions. And yet by the lawe of good men, I
 fwere to you, that yf the sayde vnhappy Tarquine hadde
 had good wyll in Rome, for the aduoutrie of Lucrece he
 had not be put oute of his realme, In as moche as other
 greater and more greuous harmes hadde bene done be-
 1655 fore his tyme, and also moche wors lithen by aged empe-
 rours in the empire, the whiche crimes by them commit-
 ted, were suche, that the offence of this fraile yonge man,
 was but smal in estimation. For thing certayne these prin-
 ces holde, that if they gyue dyuers occasions for their yll
 1660 wyll, yet a lyttell thing suffiseth yf he shewe that the hate
 that he hath is for none yl wyll: but the hate that the sub-
 iecte hath to the lorde, is bycause he hath no power.

¶ Julius Cesar, the laste dictatour and firste emperour,
 bycause he forgate to be a man among men, but thinking
 1665 to be a god amonge goddis, beinge a laudable custome,
 that the senate shulde salute the emperour on their knees,
 and the emperour to ryse courtieusly ageynste them: by-
 cause of a presūptuous mynd, he wolde not kepe the cere-
 monie


(*f.30) *monie, he merited to lese his lyfe with .xxiii. strokes of pen kniues. And as I say of these so fewe a nombre, I maye ¹⁶⁷⁰ say of many other. The phisitians with a lytell Rubarbe purge many humours of the body, and the emperor with a lytell beneuolence take many greues fro the stomakes of his subiectis. The people owe obedience to the prince, and to do his persone great reuerence, and fulfyll his cō- ¹⁶⁷⁵ maundementis, and the prince oweth egall iustice to eue-ry man, and meke conuerfation to all men.

¶ Marcus Portius saide dyuers tymes in Rome: That the publycke welthe is there perpetuall and without any fodayne falle, where the prynce fyndeth obedience, and ¹⁶⁸⁰ all the people fyndethe loue with the prince. For of the loue of the lorde bredeth the good obedience of the subiecte. And of the obedience of the subiect bredeth the good loue of the lorde. The emperour in Rome is lyke to a spider that is in the myddes of her webbe. For if the sayde ¹⁶⁸⁵ coppe webbe be touched with the poynt of a nedell, forth-with the spider feleth it. I meane that all the werkes of the Emperour in Rome bene streyghte waye knowen in all the erthe. I beleue that this daye I haue ben iudged of humayne malyce, for accompanyenge the proceffyon ¹⁶⁹⁰ of the captiues, and that I suffredde theym to towche me, that they myghte enioye the priuilege of lybertie.

I yelde and gyue great graces to my goddis of my good happe, bycause they haue made me pytefull for to delyuer prifoners, and not cruell as a tyraunt for to make theym ¹⁶⁹⁵ bonde that be free. The prouerbe sayth: One snare maye take two byrdes: So it hath ben this daye: for the benefyte redounded onely to the myserable prifoners, but the fauour to all their nations. And doo ye not knowe, that by takynge awaye their yrons I haue drawn to me ¹⁷⁰⁰ the hartes of all their realmes and countreyes? Finally
it is

(*f. 30^b) *it is more sure to a prince to be serued with free hartes and loue of them that be at libertie, than of subiectes constrained with feare.


¶ Howe themperour Marcus diuided the houres of the day for the busynesses of thempire. Capi. xviii.

1705  Ere before we haue shewid how this good emperour had great hatred of men that were of yll lyuynge, and that passed their tyme in ylle exercise, It suffiseth not the philosopher to re-
preue the vyce of other by wordes, but it is ne-
cessari that he do the werkes that he requirith other to do:
It is reason now to shewe, howe this emperour by his
great prudence compassed 7 dispatched the great 7 huge
busynesses of the empire, the particularities of his house-
holde, the recreation of his persone, the exercise of his stu-
1715 dies, the infinite reasonynge with one and other, with such
payne takynge, and in so shorte tyme. He was so apte
and wel aduysed, that by him there was no tyme yll spent.
Nor neuer faylled to dispatche the besynes of the empire.
And bycause the time is glorious of him that gloriously
1720 spendeth it, and the time is accursed that to our damage,
and without profyte to other passeth, leauing vs ignorāt
as brute beastis: He departed the tyme by times, the ordre
wherof was thus. Seuen houres he slepte in the nyght,
and rested one houre on the day: At dyner and supper he
1725 wasted but onely two howres: he deputed two houres for
the matters of Asie: Other two howres for the busynesse
of Europe and Affrike: and in conuersation of his hous
and with his wife and chyldren seruantes and frēdes that
came to se hym, he spent other two houres: And for the
1730 outwarde besynesses, as to here the complayntes of them
that

(*f.31) *that were greued, The suites of poore men wanting Iustice, the widowes, the robberies of pyckers, of mychers, and vacabundes he deputed an other houre. All the reste of the day and night in redyng of bokes, to write workis, to make metres, to studye antiquities, to practyse with ¹⁷³⁵ wife men, to dispute among philosophers, he passed thus ordinarily in wynter: And in sommer if cruel warres letted hym not, or that he were troubled with great and hainous matters, he went euer to bed at .ix. of the clocke, and awoke at .iiii. It was of custome that emperours hadde ¹⁷⁴⁰ euer lyghtes brennyng in their chaumbre. And therfore whan he awoke, bycause he wold not be ydle, he had euer a boke at his beddis heed. And thus in redyng he spent the rest of the nyght, tyll it was day. He rose at .vi. of the clocke, and made hym redy openly, not angrely, but me- ¹⁷⁴⁵ rily: he wold demande of theym that were present, howe they had spent all the nyght tyme. And there he wolde reherse, what he hadde redde that nyght. Whan he was redye, he wolde washe his handes with very well smellyng waters: for he was a greate louer of al swete odours. He ¹⁷⁵⁰ had a good and a quicke smellyng. Than in the morning before euery man, he wolde take .iii. or .iiii. morcelles of electuarie of sticados, and two draughters [sic] of Aqua vite. After that in sommer he wolde go forthwith a fote to the riuer side, and there passe the tyme the space of two hou- ¹⁷⁵⁵ res. And as sone as the heate came, he wolde go to the hie capitoll to the senate. That done he wente to the college, where as all the procurours and ambaffadours of all prouinces were, and there be wolde be a greatte parte of the day, and there here euery nacyon by it selfe, accordyng to ¹⁷⁶⁰ the tyme that was deputed by order. And towarde theeuynyng, he wolde go to the temple of the virgins vestales. He eate but ones a daye, and that was somwhat late,
and

(*f. 31^b) *and than he wolde make a good meale, and but of fewe
 1765 meates. He had a custome euery weke in Rome, or other
 cities, where as he was, that two dayes late in the euen-
 nyng he wolde walke in the stretes without his garde or
 knyghtis, onely with .x. or .xii. pages, to se yf any person
 wolde speke with hym, or complayne of any officer of his
 1770 courte and howse, and this he caused to be demaunded of
 other men. This good emperour wolde oftentimes say:
 A good prince that wyll rule and gouerne well, and not to
 to [sic] be a tyrant, ought to doo thus: That is, that he be not
 couetous of tributes, nor proude in his commaundemen-
 1775 tes, nor vnkynde to seruices, nor bolde in the temples, nor
 dese to here complayntes. In fulfyllinge hereof he shall
 haue the goddis in his handes, and the hartis of menne
 shalbe [sic] his. All the whyle that this Marke was emperour
 he had neuer porter at his chaumbre doore, but if it were
 1780 the two houres that he was with Faustin his wyfe. This
 good emperour had in his howse a secrete clofette locked
 with a key that he bare hym selfe. And neuer trusted none
 other therwith to the houre of his deathe. And than he cō-
 maunded to delyuer it to Pompeyano, a prudent ancient
 1785 baron that was married to his daughter: In the which clo-
 set he had dyuers bokes written in al langages, as Greke,
 hebrewe, latyne, and Caldee, and other antike histories.

¶ The answere of M. themperour, whan Faustine his
 wife demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xix.

1790  S it is natural to womē to dispise that thing
 that is giuen them vnasked, so it is deathe to
 them to be denayed [sic] of that they do demande.
 This emperour had the study or clofet of his
 howse in the mooste secrete place of his palays, wherin he
 neyther

(*f.32)*neyther suffred his wife, seruant, nor frende to entre. On a day it chanced, that Faustin the empreffe desired importunately to se that study, sayinge these wordes: My lorde, let me se your secrete chaumbre, beholde, I am greatte with chylde, and shall dye if I see it not. And ye knowe welle, that the lawe of the Romaynes is, that nothyng shal be denied to womenne with chylde of that they desyre. And yf ye doo otherwise, ye doo it in dede, but not of ryghte. For I shal dye with the chylde in my body. And moreouer I thynke in my mynde, that ye haue some other loue within your study. Therefore to put away the peryl of my trauaylyng, and to assure my harte fro Jelousie, hit is no greatte thyng to lette me entre into your studye. The emperour, seinge that Faustines wordis were of trouthe bycause he sawe her wordes washed with weping, answered her on this wise: It is a thyng certayne, whan one is contented, he sayth more with his tongue, than he thynketh with his hart. And contrary wyse whan one is heuy, the eien wepe not so moche, nor the tongue can not declare that is locked in the harte. Uayne men with vayne wordes shewe and declare their vayne pleasures: And the wise men with prudente wordes, dissemble their cruelle passions. Among wise men he is wyfdest that knoweth moche, 7 sheweth to knowe but lyttle: And amonge the simple he is mooste simple, that knoweth but lyttel, and sheweth hym selfe to knowe moche. They that are prudent, though they are demaunded, saye nothyng: but simple folke wyll speake inough without askyng of any question. This I say Fauptyne, bycause thy wepyng hath so hurte me, and thy vayne speche so turmented me, that I can not declare that I fele, nor thou canst not fele y that I say. Dyuers aduertisements haue they writen, that haue wryten of mariage, yet haue they not writen, how many trauailes that

(*f. 32^b) *that one womanne cauſeth her huſbande to ſuffre in one
 daye. Of a ſuretie, it is a ioyfull thyng to reioyce in the
 chyldehode of chyldeſen, but it is a ryght cruel thing to ſuf-
 fre the importunities of their mothers. The chyldeſen do
 1830 nowe and than a thyng that tourneth vs to pleaſure: but
 ye women do nothyng but gyue vs diſpleaſure. I ſhall
 agree with all married men to pardon theſe chyldeſens plea-
 ſures, for the annoyauce that the mothers gyue to them.
 One thyng I haue ſene, the whiche neuer begyled me,
 1835 that the iuſt goddeſſes do gyue to the vniuſte menne, that
 all the euylles that they doo in this worlde, ſhall be re-
 mytted to the furies of the other worlde. But yf they doo
 commytte any lynne for the pleaſure of any woman, the
 goddiſſe commaunde, that by the handes of the ſame wo-
 1840 manne, we ſhall receyue payne in this worlde, and not in
 the other. There is not ſo fyers or peryllous an enemy
 to a man, as is his wyfe. And thoughe a manne can not
 lyue with her as a man, I neuer ſawe none ſo lyghte, be-
 inge with a vicious woman, in doinge vice, but that by
 1845 the ſame woman at the laſte he receyued ſhame and cha-
 ſtiſement. Of one thyng I am ſure, and I ſaye it not bi-
 cauſe I haue ſene it, but experimented in my ſelfe, that
 though the huſbande do all that his wyfe wyll, yet wyll
 ſhe do nothyng that her huſband wold haue done. Great
 1850 crueltie is amonge the barbariēſſes to holde their wyues as
 ſclaues: And no leſſe madnes is it of Romaines, to kepe
 them as ladies. Fleſſhe ought not to be ſo leane, that hit
 abhorre: nor ſo fatte that it cloye the stomacke: but mene
 and enterlarded, to the ende that hit be ſauourye. I ſaye
 1855 that a wyfe manne canne not gyue ſo ſtronge a brydell to
 his wyfe, that ſhe wyll obeye as a handmayden, nor
 gyue her ſo lyttell of the brydell, but ſhe wyll exalte her
 ſelfe as mayſtreſſe and reuler. Beholde Fauſtyne howe
 ye

(*f.33)*ye womenne are so extreme in all heedlonge extremities, that with a lyttell fauour ye wylle exalte, augment, and 1860 growe in to great pride: and with a lyttell disfauour, ye recouer great hatred. There is no parfite loue, where is no egalitie betwene the louers. And as ye and other are vnperfite, so is your loue vnperfite. I wote well ye vnderstonde me not. Therfore vnderstonde Faustine that 1865 I say more than ye wene. There is no woman, that with her wille wolde suffre any greater than her selfe: nor to be content to haue an other egall with her. For thoughe she haue a. M. li. rent, yeth she hath .x. M. folyes in her heed. And that worfe is, though it chaunce her husbände 1870 to dye, and she lese all her rent, yet endeth not her folyshenes. Herken to me, and I shall tell you more. All women wolde speake, and haue all other to be styll: they wolde gouerne and be gouerned of none other. One thyng they desire, that is to see, and to be sene. And such as be lyght 1875 in folowyng their lyghtnes, they holde as their subiectes and sclauens: and suche as be wyfe, and reprove their appetites, they pursue as enmies. In the annales Pompeyens I haue founde a thyng worthy for to be knowen, and that is: Whan Gnee Pompeie passed into the Orient 1880 on the mountaynes Rifees he founde a maner of people called Masagetes, whiche had a lawe, that euery inhabitant or dweller shuld haue two tonnes or fattes, bicause there was lacke of howses in the saide mountaynes: In one was the husbände, the sonnes and men seruantes: 1885 and in the other the wyfe the daughters and maydens. On the holy dayes they dyd eate to gyther, and ones in the weke they lay togyther. Whan great Pompeye had questioned the cause of their lyuyng in that maner, for that he neuer sawe nor knewe a more extreme thyng in 1890 all the worlde. One of them answered: Pompey behold,

the

(*f. 33^b) *the goddis haue gyuen vs but a short lyfe, for none of vs may lyue aboue .lx. yere at the moste, and those yeres we trauayle to lyue in peace. And in hauyng our wyues with
 1895 vs styll in companye, we shulde lyue euer dyenge: for we shulde passe the nyghtes in herynge their complayntes: and the dayes in suffryng their brawlynges 7 chydinges. In kepyng them this wise from vs apart, they nourishe theyr chyldren more peasibly, eschewyng the noyfes that
 1900 fleeth the fathers.

¶ I tell the Faustine, that though we cal the Masagetes barbariens, in this case they be wiser than the Romayns. One thinge I wyll tell you Faustin, 7 I pray you marke it wel. If the beastly mouyng of the fleshe enforced not
 1905 the wyll of man to do his luste, and that he wolde not desire women, I doubte whether women wolde suffre it or loue it the lesse. Of trouth yf the goddis hadde made this loue voluntarie, as it is naturall that is as we wolde we myght, and not as we wold and may not, with great payn
 1910 a man myght be satisfied, though he shulde lose him selfe for any woman. It is a great secrete of the goddis, and a great myserie to man, that the faynt and weke fleshe doth force the herte whiche shulde be free, to loue that it abhorreth, and to alowe that that domageth. This is a greatte
 1915 secrete, that men can fele it euery houre as men: and yet by discrecion may not remedy it. I enuie not the lyuinge goddes, nor the men that be deed, but for two thynges, and they ben these: The goddis lyue without feare of the that be malicious, and they that be deed are in peace with
 1920 out nede of women. The ayre is so corrupt, that it corrupteth euery man with two pestilent plagis so deadely that the fleshe and the herte endeth. O Faustine, is the loue of the fleshe so natural that whā the fleshe fleeth scornfully, that we shulde leue the true hart as captiue? And the reson

(•f.34)*as reason put her to flyght, the fleffhe as flefhe forthwith ¹⁹²⁵
yeldeth her to you as ouercome.

¶ The emperour reherfeth the perilles of them that
haunt women exceffiue. Cap. xx.



Hemperour folowinge his purpofe declareth
the vniuerfall domages, that come to man by
ouermoche conuerfation and hauntinge of
women. And after he had tolde fome particu- ¹⁹³⁰
lar cafes that he had fuffred with Faustin his
wyfe, he fayd: I am wel remēbred, that in my yonge age I
folowed the flefhe to moch, with purpofe neuer to return:
And therfore I cōfesse, y if I had good defires in one day,
in ftede therof a. M. days I wrought yll. It is reason y ¹⁹³⁵
ye women fle from them that flee from you, to hyde you
from them that hyde them fro you: to leue them that leue
you: to feperate [sic] you fro them, that feperate them fro you:
to forgette them that forget you. For fome fcape fro your
handes yl famed and effeminate: and other are hurt with ¹⁹⁴⁰
your tonges, many ben perfecuted with your werkes, and
the better to fcape free, they come away abhorred of your
hartes and bounde to your lyghtneffes. Than who that
feleth this, what getteth he by the atteynynge therof? O
to howe many perylles offereth he hym felfe, that with ¹⁹⁴⁵
women is greatly conuerfant? If a man loue theym not,
they count hym as a villeyne: yf he loue them, they think
hym lyghte: if he leaue theym, they repute hym for a co-
warde: if he folowe them, he is loft: yf he ferue them, he
is not regarded: yf he ferue theym not, he is hated of ¹⁹⁵⁰
theym: yf he wylle haue theym, they wyll nat haue him:
yf he defyre theym not, they wylle leeke on hym: yf he
haunt theym, he is ylle named: yf he haunt theym not,
they


I. ii.

(*f. 34^b) *they reckon hym no man. What shall the vnhappy man
 1955 do? Let men take this for certayne, that though the huf-
 bande do for his wyfe al that he can do as a mā, and that
 he ought to do as a hufbande, and with his weakenes
 do the best that he can, for to fynd remedy agaynst pouer-
 tie with his trauayle, and putte hym selfe in daunger for
 1960 her euery houre, all this shal not plese his wyfe, nor make
 her the better: but she wyll say, that the traytre loueth o-
 ther: and that all that he dothe, is onely to accomplysshe
 his pleasure on them. Many dayes ago Faustin I haue
 wyllled to tell the this, but I haue differred it tyll now, ho
 1965 pyngge that thou woldest gyue me occasion to telle it the:
 the whiche longe ago thou haste caused me to feele. It is
 no poynt of wyfe men, that for euerye tyme they are an-
 noyed with their wyues, forthewith to hurte theym with
 wordes. For amonge wife men the faide wordes are most
 1970 esteemed when they are well appropriated and sayd to good
 purpose. I do bethynke me, that it is .vi. yere sith Antho-
 ny pie thy father did chuse me to be his sonne in lawe, and
 thou me to be thy hufbande, and I the for my wyfe: this
 my fatall destenie dyd permytte, at the commaundement
 1975 of Adrian my lorde. My father in law gaue the his faire
 doughter to me for wyfe, and the very sadde and ponde-
 rous empire in maryage. I trowe we were all begyled:
 He to take me for his sonne, and I to chuse the for my
 wife. He was named Anthonie Pius, bycause he was pi-
 1980 tiefull in al thynges, saue vnto me, to whom he was cru-
 ell, for in a lyttell flesshe he gaue me many bones: and, to
 say the trouthe, I haue no tethe to gnawe it, nor no heate
 in my stomacke to digeste hit: and many tymes I haue
 thought my selfe losse with it. For thy beautie thou were
 1985 desyred of many, but for thyne yll conditions thou were
 abhorred of al. O howe vnhappy ben thy destenies Fau-
 styne,

(*f. 35) *ftyn, and howe yl haue the goddis prouided for the. They haue gyuen the beautie, and rycheffe for to vndo the: And they haue denied and refused to the the beste, that is good condicions, qualitie, and wyfedome to maynteyne them. ¹⁹⁹⁰ I say to the agayne, that the goddis haue ben very cruell to the, fyth they adressed the to the whirlepole, where as all yll folke peryfhe, and haue taken from the, the sayles and oores, wherby all good folke escape. The .xxxviii. yeres, that I was without wyfe, femed not to me .xxxviii. ¹⁹⁹⁵ dayes: and the .vi. yeres that I haue bene married, seme to me .vi. hundred yeres. I wyl assure the one thyng, that if I had knowen before, that I knowe now, and had felt than that I fele at this houre, I wold say an other thing: and though the goddis wolde commande me, and Adrian ²⁰⁰⁰ my maylter wolde commaunde me, I wolde not chaunge my pouertie and quietnes, for the mariage of the 7 them-pire. But I haue desired the in thy good fortune, and my felfe to myn yll fortune. I haue sayde but a lyttelle, and haue suffred a greate deale, I haue fayned a great while, ²⁰⁰⁵ but I can fayne no longer. No man suffreth his wyfe so moche, but he is bounde to suffre more. Let a man, that is a man confider, and lyke wife a woman that is a woman confyder, what boldenes she is of that quarelleth with her husbande, and that he is a foole that brawleth openly ²⁰¹⁰ with his wife. For if she be good, he oughte to fauour her that she may be the better: yf she be a shrewe, he must suffre her, that she waxe not wors. Euery man knoweth, that all thyngis suffereth chaftisement saue a woman, whiche (as a woman) wyl be desired and prayed. Faustine beleue ²⁰¹⁵ me, yf feare of the goddis, the shame of her persone, and speche of the people withdrawe not a woman from euyll, all the chaftisement of the worlde wyll not ouercome her. The harte of man is very noble, and the harte of a woman

(*f. 35^b) ²⁰²⁰ *man is deyntie, and wyll haue great hyre for a lyttel goodnes, and for moche euyll no chaftifement. A wife man wil knowe what he hath to do or he marie. Than if he determyne hym to take the company of a wife, he ought to enlarge his harte to receyue all that may come with her. It ²⁰²⁵ is but a small wytte in a man to sette by the smalle fantasies of his wyfe, or for to chaftise openly that may be righted betwene them secretly. He that is wife and wyll lyue quietly with his wife, ought to kepe this rule: Admonishe her often, and reprove her but seldom, and lay no handis ²⁰³⁰ on her. For by other meanes he getteth no fidelitie in her, nor good entreatynge of her, nor good bryngynge vp of their chyl dren, nor seruice to the goddis, nor any hope of proufite of her. And thus Fauftine I wyll say no more to the, but that thou confider, that I do confider, and know ²⁰³⁵ that I do fe, and that my fuffrance vnknownen to the, may fuffyfe to amende thy lyfe.

¶ The emperours answere to Fauftine for that she fayde, she was with chylde. Cap. xxi.

 ²⁰⁴⁰ Owe that I haue openid and put out the olde venym, I wyll answere to thy present questiō or demaunde. To thentent that medicins may profite them that be fyke, it is necessarie to dispoyle the opilations 7 lettes of the stomake: Lyke wyfe none can counsayle his frende conuenientely, but if he shewe first his grefe. Thou demaundest of me the key of my study, and thou thretenest me, that yf I giue ²⁰⁴⁵ it the not, thou shalte be losse, and hurte with thy fruyte. ye women with chylde haue a good hostage or pledge, for vnder colour of traуaylynge before your tyme, ye wolde haue vs fulfyllle all your fonde appetytes. Whanne the
holy

(*f.36)*holy senate in that happy tyme made a lawe in fauour of Romaine matrones, they were not so desirous. Nowe I ²⁰⁵⁰ wote not howe it is, but ye all are anoyed and wery of all goodnes. And all ye in all yll are desyrous and couetous. As farre as I can remembre, whanne Camylle made his vowe to Cybille the mother of goddis, to send hym victorie in a battayle, whan he had wonne the victorie, Rome ²⁰⁵⁵ was so poore that it hadde neyther golde nor syluer for to make the statue of promesse, the matrones than being, seeing that theyr husbandes dyd offre their lyues in the said warre, they granted to present their iewels to the holy senate. It was a meruayllous thyng to see, that withoute ²⁰⁶⁰ any speakeyng to them, or without any mans entysemēt they determyned all to gither to go to the hye capitol, and there in the presence of euery man presented their owches hanginge at their eares, The ringes of their fingers, the bracelettes of their armes, the perles fro their attires of ²⁰⁶⁵ their heades, the collers from their neckes, The broches of their brestes, the girdelles aboute their middels, and borders of their gownes. And though that their gift was esteemed to a great value, yet their good wylls was esteemed a great deale more. The rycheffes that they offered ²⁰⁷⁰ there was so greatte, that not allonely there was inough to perfourme the vowe of the statue, but to pursewe the warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, y none dyd them any plesure, but he was shortly recōpenced: the same day that the matrons dyd offre their ryche and fayre iewelles in the Capitolle, there was graunted unto theym ²⁰⁷⁵ fyue maner of thynges in the Senate: The fyrste, that at their deathes the oratours shulde preche, publyshe and shewe their good liuinge: The seconde that they shulde sit in the temple, where as before they were wont to stand: ²⁰⁸⁰ The thirde, that they shuld were furred 7 lyned gownes, where

(*f. 36b) *where as before they ware none but fyngle: The .iiii. that
 in their difeses they myght drinke wyne, where as before
 on their lyues they durft drinke none, but water: The .v.
 2085 that the matrones of Rome great with chylde, shulde not
 be refused of any thyng that they defyred. These fyue
 thynges for certayne were iustly and wyllingly graun-
 ted by the senate: And why this lawe that commaundeth
 to denaye nothyng to a woman with chylde was made,
 2090 I wyl tell the the occasion that moued the senate so to do.
 Fuluius Torquate beinge consull in the warre againste
 the Uolseos [sic], the knyghtes of Maurityne broughte to
 Rome a wyld man, that had but one eye, that they hadde
 taken in huntyng in the desertes of Egypt. And the ma-
 2095 trones of Rome were at that tyme as sad and honeste, as
 they be nowe bolde and lyght: so was the wyfe of the said
 Torquate, that was nygh the tyme of her delyueraunce
 great with chylde, of trouthe a woman so honeste, that for
 the sobre solytarynes that she kepte in Rome, she hadde
 2100 no lesse glorie than hadde her husbande in the warres
 for his worthynes, the whiche was welle proued. For in
 the .xiiii. yere that Torquate her husbande was in Afye
 a warre fare, the fyrste tyme that he went thyder, she was
 neuer sene at the wyndowe lokinge out, and she was not
 2105 all onely regarded for that, but in all the sayde .xiiii. yeres
 neuer manchylde nor man aboue the age of .viii. yeres
 came within her gates. And not content with this, that
 she dyd to gyue example to all Rome, and to attayne per-
 petuall memorie, where as she had lefte with her thre son-
 2110 nes, the eldest of whom was but thre yeres of age: and as
 soone as they came to .viii. yere, she sente them out of her
 house to their grauntefathers. And thus dydde this ex-
 cellent Romaine lady, to the entent that vnder colour of
 her owne chyldren there shulde none other yonge chyldren
 enter

(*f.37)*entre into her howse. Thofe yeres paffed, after that the ²¹¹⁵
 good olde man Torquate was retourned fro the warres
 of the Uolseos, the fayde wylde man with one eye wente
 by the doore of the faide Torquate, and one of her may-
 dens tolde her, that it was a meruaylous thyng to fe: and
 the good lady hadde great defyre to fee hym, and bycaufe ²¹²⁰
 there was none to bringe hym to her, that fhe myghte fee
 hym, fhe dyed for sorowe. And for certayne thoughe he
 came often inough by her doore, yet fhe wolde neuer goo
 nor loke out at her wyndowe to fe hym. Her deathe was
 gretly bewayled in Rome, for fhe was in Rome moft dere- ²¹²⁵
 ly beloued, and good reafon: for many dayes afore was
 no fuche woman brought vp in Rome. And by the com-
 maundement of the fenate, the tenour of this writing in
 verfes were fet vpon her fepulchre,

¶ Here lyeth the glorious matron wife of Torquate, that ²¹³⁰
 wolde aduenture her lyfe to affure her good fame.

¶ Beholde Fauftine, this lawe was not made to remedy
 the dethe of this matrone, but to the ende that to fuch as
 ye be, and to all the worlde it fhulde be a perpetual exam-
 ple of her lyfe and memorie of her deathe. It was welle ²¹³⁵
 done to ordeine that law for an honeft woman being with
 chylde, that it fhuld be kepte to all vertuous women. And
 vnto women that wold, that the law of them that be with
 chylde fhulde be kept, by the fame lawe it is requifite to
 require that they be honeft. In the .vii. table of our lawe ²¹⁴⁰
 it is fayde: we commaunde, that where there is corruption
 of cuftomes, there lyberties fhall not be kepte.

¶ Howe tydynges was brought to the emperour,
 that the Mauritaynes wolde conquere
 greatte Britayne. Cap. xxii.

In

(*f. 37b)



IN the .liiii. yere of Marcus the emperours
 aege, and the tenthe yere of his election to
 thempire, In the month of July as he was
 in the citie of Naples, and not in verye per-
 fite helthe, for he was soore payned with the
 gowte in his foote: there came a Centurion in maner of
 a messager with great hast saying, that in great Britayn
 was sodaynly arruyed a great nauie of warre, to the nō-
 bre of .C. 7 .xxx. shyps of the realme of Maurитайn, and the
 quantitie of .xx. M. men on foote, and .ii. M. men of ar-
 mes: and that the kyng of Maurитайns brother was their
 capitayne, named Alclipio, the whiche had taken lande
 at a hauen of the yle called Arpine, and that, to resylte fo
 great a power, there were but a fewe people in the sayde
 yle. The good emperour herynge these tidynges, though
 he felte it inwardely as a man, yet he feyned it outwardly
 as a dyscrete man with a sadde countenance and made
 fewe wordes. Than seinge that busines myght not be de-
 layed, he sayde these wordes: I wyll go with a fewe peo-
 ple, and do what I can. For better it were with a fewe to
 go betymes, than to tary for many and goo to late. And
 forthwith the good emperour pourueyed that all they of
 his palays shulde departe to go to Brytayne, and none to
 tarie behynde to do hym seruyce. The custome was that
 the emperours shulde haue alwaye in theyr houfes suche
 men as were mete to be sent forthe in any besyneffes that
 shulde happen for warre. And after that they were shyp-
 ped, there ariued one of Britayne, that shewed, howe the
 Maurитайns were retourned, so that none of them was
 lefte in the ile. Than this emperour kepthe his houle in a
 good poynt. Lyttell occasion suffiseth to them that be na-
 turally of yll inclinations, to departe and sprede through
 countreys to do harme: therefore he sent them of his hous
 to

(*f.38)*the entent, that by occafyon of the warre, they fhulde not leade an yll lyfe. Than the emperour fearing the diffolution of his courte, and boldenes of his officers, to the intent they fhulde not leaue vertue and growe in vice, he determined on a day to call them to hym fecretly, and to fay 2180 thefe wordes to them.

¶ What themperour fayd to them of his courte in efchewynge ydelneffe. Cap. xxiii.



He greatteft fygne in a vertuous man is to do vertuous werkes, and vertuoufly to fpēd and occupie his tyme: and the greatteft fygne of a lofte man is to lefe his tyme in naughty 2185 warkes. The greatteft happe of all, and the greatteft defire of men is to lyue longe. For diuers chanches that falle in fhort tyme may be fuffered and remedied by longe fpace. Plato fayd: A man that paffeth his lyfe without profite, as one vnworthy to liue, oughte to haue 2190 the reſte of his lyfe taken fro hym. The fylthe of ſecrete chambres, the ſtynche of the pompe in ſhyppes, nor the ordures of cities do not corrupt the ayre ſo moche, as ydell folke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occupieth his time well, no vertue but it encreafeth, ſo in hym, 2195 that occupieth his tyme ylle, there is no vilanie but it is ſuſpecte in hym. A manne that is alwaye well occupied, ought euer to be reputed as good: and the ydel man without further enquerie, ought to be cōdempned as nought. Shewe me now, I deſyre you, what nouryſſhethe the 2200 corrupte and fowle wiesdes, the nettelles that ſtynge, and the bryers that prycke, but the erthe that is vntilled, and waxen wyld, and the feldeſ fulle of thyſtelles, whyche is not wyded, and viſyted with the plowghe?

O Rome

(*f. 38^b) 2205 *O Rome without Rome, that nowe as vnhappy haft but
 onely the name of Rome, bycause thou art so dere in ver-
 tues, and makest vices good cheape. yea yea, and I shall
 tell the, knowest thou wherfore thou art so? bycause thou
 haste vnpeopled the lanes and stretes of werkemen and
 2210 offycers, and haste peopled it all aboute with infinite va-
 cabundes. I knowe for trouthe, that the Samytes, Uo-
 figoths, Astrogoths, and Peniens spredde in your terry-
 tories, do you not so moche damage as do these ydell and
 losfe people stuffed in eevery shoppe. All writers can not
 2215 denie me, that all nations wyllynge to conquere Rome,
 can not take away one loope of the walles of it: and these
 ydell people haue troden and pulled vnder their fete the
 good renowme of it. An infallible rule it is: a man giuē
 to exerceyses is vertuous, and one gyuen to lewtrynges is
 2220 a vicious person. What a diuine thyng was it to se the di-
 uine worldes of our predeceffours, the whiche fyth Tul-
 lius Hostillius vnto Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, and
 sith Cincinatus vnto Cyncinos, whiche were of the Syl-
 lans and Marians, there was neuer consulle at Rome,
 2225 but he coude do some maner of office or occupation, wher
 with they were occupied whan theyr office in the Senate
 was ended. Some coude paynte pictures or other flatte
 workes: Other coude graue images and portry in wood
 or erthe, or other thynges, or coude worke in syluer, and
 2230 other metalles: and other redde in scholes: In such wise
 that the holy senate myght chuse none, but yf he were first
 knowen in some maner handy craft. I do fynde in the an-
 nales all that is aboue sayde: and if I lye I do gyue me
 to the flames of Uulcan. And there was an ancient lawe
 2235 that a myller, a smyth, a baker, or a poynt maker, myght
 not be a Senatour, bycause men of the sayd occupations
 were commonly taken with deceytes and gyles. Than re-
 garde

(*f. 39) *garde the maner and chaunge of tyme, and the corruptiō of customes, how that in .CCC. yeres euery man trauayled for the renowme of Rome. Other thynges I fynde in the sayde annales worthye of eterne memorie: yet of the moste auncientes can not be red, the people of Rome hauynge .iiii. perillous warres to gyther, yonge Scipio ageynft the Peniens, Mucio agaynft the Cayens, Metellus ageynfte Alexander of Macedonie, and an other Metellus his brother ageynft the Celtiberes of Spayne: the lawe beinge so fore keppe, that none shulde be taken from the mysterie and office that he occupied, 7 the senatours hauynge extreme necessitie of messengers to sende to the warres, whan the senatours had gone thre dayes aboute with the censures of Rome, that they coude fynde one ydell man to be sente forthe with their letters. I wepe for ioye, that I haue of this antyke felicitie, and I mourne for compassion of the myserie nowe beinge. It is a confusion to say, but I wyll say it. Twenty yeres I had offyce in the senate, and it is .x. yeres fyth I haue ruled the empire, whiche is .xxx. in all, In the whiche season I swere by the goddis immortall, I haue caused to whyppe, caste in welles, to bury quicke, to hange, to pricke, and to banysh mo than .xxx. M. vacabundes, and .x. M. ydel women. Than what difference is ther betwene that lyfe and this deathe, that glory and this payne, of that golde and this ordure, of that antike Roman werke to our presente inuentife ydelnes of Rome.

¶ In the lawes of the Lacedemoniens this was written in the table of the ydell people: We commaunde as kyn- ges, we praye as seruantes, we teache as philosophers, and admonysh as fathers, that the fathers shal first teche their chyl dren to labour the felde, wherwith by trauayle they may lyue, and not in places, where as by ydelnesse they

(*f. 39^b) *they may be loft. And that law sayth ferthermore: If that yonge people obey not as yonge, we wyll that the aged people do correcte and punyſhe them as aged. And in caſe that the fathers be neglygent to commande them, or that
 2275 they be diſobedient: we commaunde the prince than to be diligent to chaſtiſe them.

¶ Certainly theſe wordes are worthy to be noted: whereby Lygurge the kyng deſerued eternall memorie for his perſone, and the ſayde realme perpetuall peaſe in the cō-
 2280 mon weltbe. O Rome, what doſte thou? Why regardeſt thou not theſe lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with their frendely cuſtomes, dothe mocke thy brutall vyces? Slepeſt or wakeſt? O Rome thou wakeſt all the worlde to leaue ſwete trauayles, and ſlepeſt in vniuſt ydelneſſes.
 2285 Thou arte ſure of ennemies, and thou careles art drowned in flouth and ydelnes. Than ſyth that they that bene ferre of, do waken the, thou oughteſt to awaken thē that thou kepeſt with the. I wolde ſpeake to all them to gyder of my palays, and longe ago I wyllled ſo to do, but the
 2290 multitude of ſtraunge beſynneſſes ſomtyme cauſeth a mā to forgette his owne.

¶ Of the peryllous lyuynge of them that haunt the courte continually. Cap. xxiiii.

THan the emperour ioined theſe wordis to that he had ſayde. Many thynges I haue ſene, 7 of credible perſones I haue harde, which me ſemed to be yll, and none of them good. Spe-
 2295 cially one, whiche offendeth the goddis, ſclandreth the world, peruerteth the common welth, and endomageeth the perſon ſelfe: whiche is this curſed flouth and ydelnes that diſtroyeth them that be good, 7 vtterly brin-
 geth

(*f. 40) *geth to naught them that be yll. Somtime secretly, and ²³⁰⁰
 halfe as in fporte openly I haue admonysshed 7 rebuked
 some of you, but I se it proufite none of you. On one side
 the pricke of reson constrayneth me to chaftise you: ageyn
 confideringe the malice of mankynde, all though that it
 be prompte to yll, sometyme I am determyned to suffre ²³⁰⁵
 you. Many tymes I wold with furie chaftise you as chil-
 dren, but I do refreyne it, confideringe that ye are yonge,
 7 as yet knowe not the wiles of the world: for they holde
 so styffely together the yll with the yll, and amonge them
 make so great a leage of vices with the vices, that there ²³¹⁰
 be many that do by gyle suffre theym to be begyled, that
 whan we escape fro a lyttel wyle, and knowe the begyler,
 we thynke that we are begyled all redy with other great
 wyles. I haue meruaylous great compaffion of you my
 feruauntes, speakyng to you as a lorde: and to you my ²³¹⁵
 chyl dren spekyng as a father, for to se you al the day and
 nyght wandryng through Rome as losse perfonas: and
 that worste of all is, I perceyue that ye do not perceyue
 your owne perdition. What greater beaftlynas can there
 be, than to se you wander lyke foles from howse to howse, ²³²⁰
 fro tauerne to tauerne, from one gafinge to an other, fro
 strete to strete, fro place to place, fro play to play, fro re-
 uellers to reuellers? And that more is, that ye know not,
 what ye desire, nor what ye wold, where ye go, nor whens
 ye comme, what pleafeth you, or what displeafeth you: ²³²⁵
 What is proufytable or losse vnto you. Nor ye remem-
 bre not, that ye were borne reasonable menne, and that ye
 lyue as wylde folke amonge menne, and after shall dye
 as brute beaftes. Fro whens wene ye that this cometh?
 The cause is the desyre of beaftely mouinges, not refi- ²³³⁰
 ftinge the desyres of the luste of youthe, and aboue all
 not applieng your mindes and willes to be wel ocupied.

Take

(*f. 40^b) *Take hede amonge you of my courte, and forgette not this. Haue ye no thought but to feke newe passe tymes 7
 2335 to borow euery daye. No man, of what condicion so euer he be, except he haunt feates of armes, or other lernynge in some ordinarie exercyse, shall haue his body lustye and his spirite quicke: but shalbe acloyed in al other thyngis and wander frome strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The
 2340 harte of man is noble, and hath power continually for all actes, and all pastymes of the bodye: and yet in three dayes it is annoyed of hym selfe alone, so that with hym can not rest one laudable exercyse. Lyke as I am emperor of all the worlde, so it is reason and muste nedes be, that
 2345 I haue folke of all nations in my palays. And suche as the prince is, suche shalbe his householde, 7 as his house is, so shall his courte be, 7 as the courte is, so shall the hole empire be. For this cause a kynge oughte to be ryght honest: His house well ordered and ruled, his offycers well
 2350 lerned, and his courte well kept in awe. Of my good lyfe dependeth their good lyues, and consequētly the yl lyues. Euery nation lerneth in their particular scoles, The Syriens in Babylon: the Persians in Dorkes: the Indians in Olympe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in Athenes: the Hebrewes in Helye: the Latyns in Samie: the
 2355 Frenche men in Orlyance: the Spaniardes in Gades: 7 they all to gether in Rome. The vniuersall scole of al the worlde is the persone, the howse, and courte of a prince. As we emperours do say, the same wyl our subiectes say:
 2360 as we do, they wyll do: that we forsake, they wyll leaue: yf we lese our selves, they wyl lose them selves: if we wyn they wyll winne: and finally our welth is theyr welth, and our harme is their harme. Truely the prince is bounde to kepe his owne persone honestly and well besene, his hous
 2365 and courte so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, may haue

(*f.41)*haue desire to folowe and do therafter: and that all they that here therof may desire to se it. Take ye hede, and let vs take hede: Haue ye in minde, and let vs haue in mind, that they which be of ftrāge londes, going through ftrāge londes into ftraunge londes, by their great trauayles cō-²³⁷⁰ mynge to haue and demaunde succour and remedy of vs, may haue no caufe to report any felanders of our yl customes. What thyng more monftruous can be noyfed amōge men, then that they shulde come and complayn of the theues of theyr countreis to the theues of my courte? what²³⁷⁵ greater fhamme and inconuenience can be, then to demand Iustice of their manfleers, of the mankyllers of my court and houle? what crueltie were so cruell as to complayne of the vagabundes of their londes, to the flouthfull and ydell folke of my houle? What thyng can be more fhamme-²³⁸⁰ full, than to come to accuse them that haue sayde ylle of emperors, before them that euery day blasphemme the goddis? What thyng can be more inhumaine, than to come to aske Iustice on him that hath transgressid but ones, of them that neuer dyd good werkes? Truely in suche case²³⁸⁵ the poore men shulde retourne with their ignorance begiled, and we shulde tarie with our cruell malyce fhamed of men, and culpable before god. O howe many small matters do we chaftise in men of smal reputation, which with out breakynge of Iustice we myght forbear? and howe²³⁹⁰ many great thinges do the goddis suffre in the hie pryncis and lordes, the whiche, not without Iustice they may greuoufly punishe? And by that cruell men as cruell, can pardon nothyng: and the goddis pytefull scantely wyll chaftise any thinge. yet for all this, I wolde that none²³⁹⁵ shulde deceyue him selfe: for though the goddis forbear their iniuries, yet they leaue theym not vnpuniffhed by ftraunge Iustice. The goddis ben in their chaftifementis

as

(*f. 41^b) *as he that gyueth a blowe to an other, the hyer that he lif-
 2400 teth his hande, the greater is the stroke on the cheke. By
 semblable wise the mo yeres that they forbere our synnis,
 the more afterwarde do they hurt vs with paynes. True-
 ly I haue seene the goddis dyuers tymes to dyuers per-
 2405 sones forbere diuers synnes a greatte whyle: but at the
 laste I haue sene theym all vnwares chaftyed with one
 chaftisement.

¶ Howe the emperour wolde haue them of his
 courte to lyue. Capit. xxv.

Sithe that the goddis haue ordeyned, and my
 2410 fatall destenies haue permytted, that I shuld
 be chosen emperour (not to flouthfull) I haue
 laboured all that I myghte, to visite the em-
 pire, ye lyttell yonge folkes that are here, were gyuen to
 me of your fathers, for to nouryssh you in my palayes.
 And for you that ar bygger I was desyred to receyue you,
 in hope to haue giftes and rewardes: and other I dydde
 2415 chuse to do me seruice. The intencion of the fathers, whā
 they bringe their chyldren to the court of princis, is to put
 them from dalyance of their frendes, and baniffhe them
 from the wantonnes of their mothers. And me semeth it
 is well done, for the chyldren fro their youthe oughte to
 2420 gyue them selfe to trauayle, wherby they oughte to lyue,
 and resiste the diffauour and falles of fortune. ye are not
 come fro your countreies to lerne the vices of Rome, but
 to lerne many good maners that are in Rome, and leaue
 the yll maners of your landes. All that doo not this, and
 2425 forsake trauayle, gyue them selfe to do very idelnes. The
 miserable Rome hathe more nede of labourers for to la-
 bour, than of lordes and habytauntes Patriciens, that
 wyl

(*f.42)*wyll but paffe the tyme in reft and pleasures. I fweare to you, that not for werieng the armes with the craft of weuing, and the fynghers with fpinnyng, the bordel howfes ²⁴³⁰ nowe adays are fuller of ydell women, than the churches of good priestes. And I fwere againe, that eafilyer maye be founde .x. M. yll women in Rome to ferue in pleasure of vices, than .x. M. good men to ferue in the churches. I pray you who fleeth the marchantes in hye ways? Who ²⁴³⁵ difpoyleth wayfaringe men and pilgrimes on the mountaynes? Who piketh the lockes and breketh honest mens dores and wyndowes? Who robbe by ftrenghthe the churches? but thefe lewtrynge theues, whiche wyl not labour by day, but difpofe them to rob by nyght. O Rome, what ²⁴⁴⁰ harmes come to the for one onely euyll? Who hath fylled Italy fo full of lofte people, the palays fo full of vnable perfones, the mountayns fo full of theues, the tauernes fo full of yll womē, and euery place fo ful of vacabundes? but one, the canker of ydelnes and flouth, whiche deftro- ²⁴⁴⁵ yeth the good cutomes more than the wyndes and waters thyn olde worne walles. Beleue me one thyng, for I wote that I fay truthe therin, that the crafte of weauing, wherin al the naughty vilanies are wouen and wrought, and the fede of all vnhappye vyces, the flydyngge of all ²⁴⁵⁰ goodneffe, the fallynge of all theym that be ylle, and the awakynge and prouokynge of all thefe, is but this fowle vice of flouth and ydelneffe. And more ouer I faye, that there is no vyce amonge all vices, that bredeth fo greatte a fyre, and caueth fo continuall a fickenes of flepe a- ²⁴⁵⁵ monge aged folke, and that putteth good falke [sic] in foo greatt perylle, and dothe fo moche damage to theym that be ylle, as dothe ydelneffe. Who is it that caueth fedyti- on amonge the people, and fclander in realmes, but they that reſte and do nothyngge: bycauſe they wolde eate the ²⁴⁶⁰ foode

M. ii.

(*f. 42^b) *foode gotten by sweate of them that labour? who is it that
 fyndeth newe inuentions of tributes and forayne exacti-
 ons, but ydell men, the which bycause they wyll not work
 with their handes, finde profite with infinite exactions?
 2465 who maketh discẽtion betwene neighbours but idell folk?
 they diuide their ylle amonge their neighbours, bicause
 they occupie not their forces in good werkes, nor refreine
 their tongues to clatter of other mens liues. who imagi-
 neth in these daies so many malices in Rome, the whiche
 2470 was neuer harde of our fathers, nor redde in our booke:
 but vacabundes that neyther applie nor sette their wittes
 about nothinge els, but thinke howe to endamage other?
 The emperour that coude banishe al these idell perfonen
 out of his empire, might wel auant him selfe to haue op-
 2475 pressed al the vices of the worlde. I wolde it pleased the
 immortal goddis, that of so many triumphis that I haue
 hadde of straungers occupied in good exercyses, that I
 hadde sene one of the vacabundes of Rome driuen out of
 all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none myght be
 2480 taken and receiued for a citisen in Rome, but he were first
 examined by the Censure. In the time of Cato Cenforius
 whan any wolde be a citisen of Rome, this examination
 was made of him: He was not demaunded of whens he
 was, nor what he was, nor whens he came, nor wherfore
 2485 he came, nor of what kinne or auncient stocke he cam, but
 onely they toke his handes betwene theirs, and if they felt
 them softe and smothe, forthewith as an idell vacabunde
 man they dispatched and sent him away: and if they found
 his handes harde, and full of hard knottis, by and by they
 2490 admitted him a citezen and dweller of Rome. Also whan
 any officers toke any yll doer, and put them in prison that
 was called Marmotine, in stede of information, the first
 thyng that they toke hede of was their handes, whiche
 if they

(*f.43)if they had ben as a labourers hande and a worke man,
 though his crime were greuou, yet his chaftifemēt was ²⁴⁹⁵
 mitigate, and more eafye: and if the vnhappye prifoner
 chāced to haue idel handes, for a litell faut he fhuld haue
 fharpe punyfhemēt. It hath ben an old faying: He that
 hathe good handes, muſte nedes haue good cuſtomes. I
 fay, I chaftifed neuer labouringe man, but I was ſorie ²⁵⁰⁰
 for it: nor I neuer cauſed to whyppe a vacabunde but I
 was gladde of it. I wyl tel you more of this Catho Cen-
 forius, whiche was greatly feared. For euen as chyldrē
 in the ſcholes, heringe their maiſter commynge in, renne
 to their bokes, So whan Cato went through the ſtretes ²⁵⁰⁵
 of Rome euery body went to their werke. O right happy
 baron, before whom the people feared more to be ydel, thā
 to do yl before many other. Than behold ye at this houre,
 what force vertue hath, and howe valiaunt a vertuous
 man is, feinge that all the worlde feared Rome onely for ²⁵¹⁰
 her worthynes in armes: and all Rome feared Cato one-
 ly for his vertues. The aduētures of men are ſo dyuers,
 and the ſuſpect fortune gyueth ſo many ouerthwarte tur-
 nes, that after that a great ſpace ſhe hathe gyuen greatte
 pleaſures, incontinent we are cyted to her ſubtyll trauai- ²⁵¹⁵
 les of repentaunce. O happy Cato Cenforine, who with
 ſuche as hath folowed his wayes are nowe ſure fro the a-
 batementis of fortune. Than he that wyl haue glorie in
 this lyfe, and attayne glorie after deth, and to be beloued
 of many, and feared of all: Let hym be vertuous in do- ²⁵²⁰
 inge of good workes, and deceyue not with vayne wor-
 des. I do ſweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of wor-
 ſhypp, that yf the goddis wolde accompliſhe my deſyre,
 I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that
 he vſed in Rome, than to be Scipio with the habundance ²⁵²⁵
 of blode, that he ſhedde in Affrike. All we know wel, that
 Scipio

(*f. 43^b) *Scipio hadde a greate fame in beatinge downe of cities,
 and cuttynge innocentes throtles, and Catho hath attay-
 ned eternal memory in reforminge the people, pardoning
 2530 trespaffours, and teachynge ignorante folke. Than ye
 may all se, if I haue not good reason, more to desire to be
 Cato to the profit of many, than to be Scipio to the preiu-
 dyce of so many. Lo my frendes these wordes I haue said
 by cause ye may see, that our predeceffours, some in their
 2535 owne landes, other in strange londes, some being yonge
 and some olde in their tymes had glorie in their persones
 for them selfe: and for the world to come haue left no lesse
 memorie for their succeffours and offspringe. And we doo
 all the contrarie, I beinge emperour am lothe for to com-
 2540 mande any yll, and our officers for their interest do wors.
 And where as we are sette in diuers plesures by our vice,
 we fal hourelly into diuers miseries, and are noted to our
 great infamie. By the whiche occasion the iust goddis for
 our vniuste workis, giuinge iuste sentence, commaunde
 2545 that we lyue with suspection, dye with shame, and to be
 buried with forgettefulness, neuer to be had in memorie.
 Than all you of my courte take good hede, and print wel
 my wordes in your myndes: for who so euer I se or fynde
 ydell from hensforth, I discharge hym out of my seruice.
 2550 ye that be lerned may write and rede: ye that be men of ar-
 mes and knyghtes, exercyse you in fetes of warre: ye that
 be officers, occupie you in your offices. And take this for
 certayne, that yf ye take not this for a warnyng and mo-
 nition, that I haue gyuen you betwene you and me, the
 2555 punyshementes that I shall gyue vnto you shall be open-
 ly. And to the entent that ye haue it better in your memo-
 rie, and to be a doctryne to pryncis hereafter to comme,
 this present practife and remonstrance I haue written in
 all tounes, and set it in the hyghe Capitolle with manye
 other

(*f.44)*other of my wrytynges. The goddis be keepers of you, ²⁵⁶⁰
and also they defende and kepe me from yll fortunes and
myfauentures.

¶ Of a meruaylous and fearefulle monfter that
was seene in Scicile, and of his wry-
tynges. Capit. xxvi.

IN the yere of the foundation of Rome
vii. C. xx. and .xlii. of the age of Mar-
cus the emperour, and .ii. yeres before ²⁵⁶⁵
he toke possession of thempire, the .xx.
day of the month Sextilis, which now
is called Auguft, about the tyme of the
fonne setting, In the realme of Syeil,
than called Trinacrie, in a citie called Bellyne on the see ²⁵⁷⁰
now named Palerme, a port of the fe, there chaced a thing
right perillous to them that sawe it, and no lesse fearefull
to them that fhall here it now. As they of Bellyne or Pa-
lerme were than celebratyng a feaste with great ioy: for
the gladnes that their Pirates had ouercome the army of ²⁵⁷⁵
the Numidiens, and had taken .x. of their ships, and cast
xxxii. perfons into the see, bycause at that time they were
ennemies eche to other, and for the euyl workes they dyd,
were shewed the great paffions that passed among them.
And as hit is the customme the thinge that these Pirates ²⁵⁸⁰
get on the see, they depart it amonge them all, whan they
come home. And whan they comme to lande, they spende
that merily, that they gatte with greatte trauaylle. It is
a thyng well to be noted, howe all good and ylle hartes
are applyed: The good men haue greatte desyre to their ²⁵⁸⁵
tryumphes, and couetous men to their lucre 7 winningge.

Thus

(*f. 44^b) *Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortly after they oughte to be abhorred. And also they oughte to be abhorred, as though shortely after they oughte to be loued.


2590 Thus than the governours of the sayde citie commaunded all the laide shyppes to be sequestred in to theyr owne handes, to the intente that they shoulde not be solde, nor the coueytous people to haue the vantage in the byenge of them. The cause was, for the custome of the men of the
 2595 yles was, that all thynges shulde be kepte to gether, vnto the ende of the warre, or at leaste tyll they had peace. This was a iuste lawe: For many tymes is made stedfaste appoyntementes bytwene greate enmyes, and not all onely for the aunciente hatred, but also for lacke of rycheffe to
 2600 satisfie the presente damages. Than as all the people were withdrawē in to theyr houles about supper tyme, for it was fomer, sodenly there cam a monster in to the myddes of the citie after this shape: He semed to be of two cubites of heygth, and he had but one eye, his heed was all
 2605 pyllled so that his scull myght be sene: He had none eares, but that a lyttell of his necke was open, wherby it semed y he herd: He had two croked hornes as a gote: His ryght arme was longer thā the left; his handes were lyke horse fete: he had no throte: his necke was egall with his heed:
 2610 his sholders shone as pytche, his breste and stomake was all roughe of heare, his face was lyke a man, saufe it had but one eye in the myddes of his forehead, and had but one nose thryll: from the wASTE downewarde he was not sene, for it was couered: he sate on a chariot with .iiii. wheles,
 2615 wherat was two lyons fastened togyder before, and two beares behinde: and it coude not be determyned, wherof the chariotte was made, but there was no difference in facion therof and other that were vsed commonly: In the myddis of the sayde chariotte was a caudron lyke a table
 with

(*f.45)*with two eares, wherin the sayd monfter was: and ther-²⁶²⁰
fore it was sene but fro the gyrdelftete vpwarde. He went
about in the citie fro gate to gate a long space castyng out
spercles of fyre. The feare was so great, that dyuers wo-
men with chylde were delyuered with great peryll, and o-
ther that were weake harted fell in a fwoune: And all the²⁶²⁵
people great and smalle, lesse and more ranne to the tem-
ples of Jupiter, Mars, and Phebus, makinge importu-
nate cries and clamours. And the same season al the said
Pirates were lodged in the gouernours palays named
Solyn. He was of the nation of Capue, and there was²⁶³⁰
all the richeffe kepte: and whan this monfter had ben o-
uer all the citie with his chariot, than the lyons and bea-
res brought hym to the palays, where the Pirates were,
and beinge very nygh to the gates that were faste closed,
the monfter cut an eare of one of the lyons, and with the²⁶³⁵
bloode therof he wrote these letters. R. A. S. P. I. P.
These letters were a profe to all thyem [sic] of high spiryte to
giue declaration of them: and there was mo declarations
than there were letters. But finally a woman diuinereffe,
or contrary, alothfayer [sic], that was had in great reputation²⁶⁴⁰
for her craftes, made the very declaration of the sayd let-
ters, saying thus. R, reddite. A, aliena. S, si vultis. P,
propria. I, in pace. P, possidere. Whiche all to gether
is to saye, Render that perteyneth to other, yf ye wylle
in peace possesse your owne. Surely the Pirates were²⁶⁴⁵
fore affrayed of that dredefull commaundement: and the
womã was greatly prailed for her high declaration. Thã
fortwith the same nyghte the monfter went into a highe
mountayne called as than Janitia, and there by the space
of thre days was in the syght of all the citie: and in that²⁶⁵⁰
season the lyons made great roringe and howlynge, and
the beares and monfter keste out great fearefull flames.

And

(*f. 45^b) *And all that leſon there neyther appered byrde in the aire,
 nor beaſte in the feldeſ, and all the men offred great ſacri-
 2655 fices to the goddiſ, in ſuche wiſe that they brake the vey-
 nes of their handeſ and fete, and offered the blode, to ſe if
 they might appeale their goddiſ. After the thre dayſ paſ-
 ſed, ſodeinly appered a clowde blacke and derke vpon the
 erthe, and it began to thunder and lyghten, with a greate
 2660 erthe quake, ſo that many howſeſ fell in the cite, and ma-
 ny of the dwellers and citifinſ died. And than ſodeinly
 there came a flame of fyre from the monſter, and brent all
 the palayſ, where the ſayd Pyrateſ were, and the rycheſ-
 ſeſ that were in it, ſo that all waſ conſumed in it, yea the
 2665 very ſtoneſ: and the damage weſ [ſic] ſo great, that there fell
 mo than .ii. M. houſeſ, And there dyed aſ good aſ .x. M.
 perſonſ. And in the ſame place on the toppe of the moun-
 tayne, where aſ the monſter waſ, thēperour cōmanded to
 edifie a temple to the god Jupiter, in memory of the ſame.
 2670 Of the whiche temple themperour Alexander, hauynge
 warre with them of the realme, made a ſtronge caſtell.

¶ What befell to a citiſen of Rome in the tyme of
 this emperour Marcus. Cap. xxvii.

2675  He ſame tyme that this aduenture chaunced
 in that yle, there waſ dwellynge in the ſame
 citie a Romaine named Antygone, a lorde of
 noble bloudde, and ſomewhat entred in age:
 and about two yere before, he, hiſ wyfe, and
 a doughter of hiſ were banyſhed Rome, and not hiſ ſon-
 neſ. The occaſion waſ, There waſ an auncient laudable
 cuſtome, ſyth Quintus Cincinatuſ dictatour, that two of
 2680 the auncient ſenatourſ togyther ſhulde go with the cen-
 ſure newly created, and the olde, in the month of Decēbre
 for

(*f.46)*for to vifite all Rome: and they to call euery Romayne a-
 parte alone, fhewyng hym the .xii. tables of their lawes,
 and particular decrees of the fenate, demandyng of them
 if they knewe any neyghbour in their quarter, that had ²⁶⁸⁵
 broken thefe lawes. And if they dyd, it fhuld be informid
 to the fenate. And there all to gyther to ordeyne punyfhement
 accordyng to the diuerfitie of the fautes that they
 hadde commytted: But the fautes commytted that pre-
 fent yere, they myght not chaftyfe, but to aduertife them ²⁶⁹⁰
 to amende afterwarde. And all fuche as were ones war-
 ned, and in the next vifitation founde ftylle vnamended,
 to be greuoufly punyfhed, and fomtime banyfhed. Thefe
 were the wordes of the lawe in the .v. table and third cha-
 piter: It is ordeined by the holy fenate, by confent of blyf- ²⁶⁹⁵
 full men, receyuing the auncient colonies, that if men be-
 inge men in one yere do trefpas, the men as menne for the
 faide yere fhall diffimule and forbere: but if they that be yl
 as yll, do not amend, they that be good, as good, fhall cha-
 tife them. Also the fayd law faith: the firft fautes are suf- ²⁷⁰⁰
 fred, bicaufe they are cōmitted with weke ignorāce: but if
 they cōtinue them, ⁊ they be chaftified, bicaufe their yl co-
 meth of flouth 7 malice. This inquisition was euer made
 in the moneth of Decēbre, bicaufe that foone after in the
 month of Janiuer the offices in Rome were diuided. And ²⁷⁰⁵
 it was refon, that they fhuld knowe to whom they fhulde
 giue or denie their dignities: to thentent that good fhulde
 not be chofen in ftede of yl, nor the yl in ftede of good. The
 pticular caufe why they banyfhed the mā 7 his wife with
 their doughter was this: The fecond emperour of Rome ²⁷¹⁰
 Auguft [sic] ordeined, that none fhuld be fo hardy to pis at any
 dores of the tēples: and Caligula the .iiii. emperour com-
 mādēd, that no woman fhulde gyue any cedulaes to hange
 about the peoples neckes, to heale the feuer quartayne.

And

(*f. 46^b) 2715 *And Cato Cenforyne made a lawe, that no manne nor yonge mayden fhulde fpeake togyther at the conduites or welles, where they fetched water, nor at the ryuer where they wafhed their clothes, nor at the ouens where they baked breade, bycaufe all the yonge people of Rome that 2720 were wylde and wanton ranne euer thyder. So it befelle, that as the cenfures and confules vifited the quarter called mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus accused, that he was fene piffyng againft the temple wall of Mars: and his wyfe was accused, that fhe had folde 2725 cedules for feuer quartaynes: and lykewife his doughter was accused that fhe was fene at the conduites, ryuers, 7 ouens, fpekyng and laughing with yonge men of Rome: The whiche was a great fhame to the maydens of Rome. Than the cenfures feinge the yll order, that they had found 2730 in the houle of the faid Anthigone by the regifters, by due examination, beinge warned, [sic] afore they were banyfhed in to the yles of Cycill, for as longe as it fhuld pleafe the fenate. And lyke as in edifices fumptuous and of greatte eftimation one ftone is not decayde or wrythed out with- 2735 out fhakyng or mouynge of an nother: euen lyke wyfe is it in the chaunces of men. For commonly one vnhappy pynes chaunceth not, but an other foloweth. And I faye this bycaufe Anthigone loft not allonely his honour and welthe, but alfo he was banyfhed, and befylde that by the 2740 tremblyng of the erthe his houle fell downe, and flewe a welbeloued doughter of his. And all the while that this was done at Rome, and that befell of the monfter in Cycill, Marke the emperour was in the warres againft the Aragons, and there he receyued a letter from Antygone, 2745 wherin was reherfed his banyfhyng, wherof the emperour hadde greatte compaffion, and to comfort hym, fent hym an other letter.

Of a

(*f. 47)

*¶ Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in
this emperours tyme. Ca. xxviii.



Iue yere after the dethe of Anthony the meke,
 father in law to Marcus Aurelius, and father
 to Fauistine, there fell a pestilence in Italye. ²⁷⁵⁰
 And it was one of the .v. great pestilences a-
 monge the Romaine people. This mortalitie
 dured the space of two yeres, and it was vniuerfall tho-
 rough out all Italy, to the great damage and feare of all
 the Romans, for they thought that the goddis wold haue ²⁷⁵⁵
 distroyed them, for some displeasure that they had done a-
 gainste them. There dyed so many, as wel of great estate,
 as ryche and poore, great and small, yonge and olde, that
 the writers had lesse trauayle to write the small nombre of
 them that were lefte alyue, than to wryte of the multitude ²⁷⁶⁰
 of them that were deed. Lyke as whan a great buyldynge
 wyll falle, firste there falleth some stone: In lyke wise the
 Romainys neuer had no great pestilence in their tyme, but
 first they were thretned with some token, signe, or prodige
 fro heuen. Two yere before that Haniball entred into I- ²⁷⁶⁵
 taly in an euenynge, whan the wether was clere 7 faire,
 sodeynely it rayned bloudde and mylke in Rome. And it
 was declared by a woman, that the blode betokened cruel
 warre, and the mylke a mortall pestilence. Whan Scilla
 retourned from Champayne, to put Marius his ennemie ²⁷⁷⁰
 out of Rome, his men of warre and knyghtes sawe in a
 nyght a fountayne that ranne bloudde, and who so euer
 was bathed therein, semed to be poysoned with venyme.
 Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of .ii. C. and .l. M.
 dwellers in Rome, what with theym that dyed with the ²⁷⁷⁵
 swerde, and other consumed by pestilence, were consumed
 with Scilla, and of them that fledde with Marius, of the
 sayd

(*f. 47^b) *faid great multitude of Romayns, there abode alyue no
 mo but .xl. M. perfons. Certaynly Rome neuer receyued
 2780 fo great damage in .vi. C. yeres before, as they dydde by
 their owne propre people. All the tyrauntes were neuer fo
 cruel ageynst ftrange landes, as the Romayns were than
 ageynst their owne propre landes. And this femeth to be
 true, bycaufe the fame day y Sylla paffed through Rome
 2785 with his bloody fwerde, a capitayn of his fayd to him: Sir
 Scylla if we flee them that beare armour in the feldes, 7
 them that bere no armour in their houfes, with whom fhall
 we lyue? I coniure the by the hie goddis, fyth we be born
 of women, let vs not flee the women: and fyth we be men,
 2790 let vs not flee the men. Thou thinkeft that in fleinge all
 the Romaynes to make a comon welthe of beaftis of the
 mountayne. Thou entrest with a crie to defende the com-
 mon welthe, and to put out the tyrantes that diftroye the
 common welthe, and we do remayne tyrauntis our felfes.
 2795 To myn vnderftandinge that capitayne merited as great
 glorie for the good wordes that he fpake, as Scilla dydde
 merite chaftifement for the crueltie that he dyd. This we
 haue fayd, bycaufe that er fuche damages dyd fall, there
 proceded before certayne prodigies and tokens. No leffe
 2800 token was fhewid before the mortalite that fel in the time
 of this good emperour, the whiche was a feareful thing.
 The cafe was fo: On a day as themperour was at the tē-
 ple of the virgins Ueftales, fodeynly there entred in two
 hogges, and ranne about his fete, and there felle downe
 2805 deed: and on an other day as he came from the hyghe ca-
 pytoll, for to haue gone out at the gate Salaire, he fawe
 two kytes ioyninge to gyther with their talantes: and fo
 fell down deed at the emperours fete. And within a fhorthe
 whyle or feafon after, as the fayd emperour came fro hun
 2810 tynghe his houndes rennyng at a wylde beaft, as he gaue
 two

(*f.48)*two greyhoundes that he loued well, water to drinke with his owne handis, sodeinly they fel downe deed at his fete. Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the greyhoundes deed so sodeynly, he was greatly difmayed, and asssembled all his priestes, magitiens, and diuines, demã-²⁸¹⁵ dyng what they sayd to the prodigies, and they by those thinges passed iudged the dede present, and determyned that within two yeres the goddis wold sende great 7 greuous punyfhementes to Rome. Than within short while after, there began a warre agaynst the Parthes, wherby²⁸²⁰ there fel the yere after great famyn and pestilence amonge the Romayns. This pestilence came with sores vnder the arme pittes, so that al the senate fledde away, and the emperour alone abode styll in the capitoll. Than the ayre began to be so corrupte, that though he scaped the pestilence²⁸²⁵ yet he was vexed with hote feuers. Wherfore he was fayn to leaue Rome, and went into Champayn: and fynally in the citie of Naples he made his abode duringe the tyme that the pestilence was in Rome.

¶ Howe Mar. answered his phisitiens that wold haue him leaue his studie. Cap. xxix.



He emperour beyng in the sayde cytie of Na-²⁸³⁰ ples, where as other soughte pastyme to conserue their lyues, this emperour occupied him selfe in his bokes to augment science. A man coude do hym no better seruice, than to seke to gette hym a newe boke: not suche as was written in his²⁸³⁵ tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. This emperour was not onely a louer of olde and antyke bokes, but also of auncient stories, and sette very great store by them: And he thus beinge in this cytie sycke and very yl at ease, there

(f. 48^b) 2840 *there was brought to hym out of a citie of Asia called Helia, by certayne Hebrewes, a booke written in Hebrew: 7 he toke fuche pleasure in that booke, that oft tymes he wolde leaue his meate and go to study: and for all that he was in his hote feuer, he wolde not leaue to rede for all that
 2845 his philitiens warned hym, and his frendes prayed him: and they that were aboute hym, counfayled hym, and demaunded hym, why he left to procure the helth of his persone in so moche redyng. He aunfwered: By the goddis that we honour I coniure you, and for the frendshyp that
 2850 is betwene vs, I praye you lette me alone. ye knowe well, that fuche as are of a delicate bloode, haue not so moche sollicitude as the rusticall people, that haue harde finewes and be of a more harder complexion. Lyke maner they of clere vnderstandyng haue nede of other medicines, and
 2855 to be heled with other fyropes thā they of grosse vnderstādyng. This is the differēce that I haue of eyther of them: The ydeot kepeth diete frome bokes, and restethe on his meate, and the wise man abhorreth meate, and drawethe hym to his bokes. If they knewe, that knowe not, what
 2860 thyng knowlege is, I sweare to you, they shulde se what auayleth more the lytell knowlege that a wise man hath, than the greatte ryches of the riche man. For the myserable ryche persone, the more that he encreaseth in rychesse, the more he dimynyssheth in frendes and groweth in enemies to his damage. And he that is wyttie, the wyser
 2865 that he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, 7 feared of them that be yll for his profite. One of the thynges, wherein I holde my selfe moste bounde to the goddis is this, that they haue caused me to compas the tyme as
 2870 I haue done, the whiche is no lyttel gyft for a man to liue in this worlde. I say it is, bycause I haue had great compassion of the poore, that be very poore, of wydowes, of
 them

(*f.49)*them that be sorowfull and vnhappy, and of Orphelins.

But without comparyson I haue had greattest compaf-
 sion of them that lack knowlege. For the goddis making 2875
 men ignorant by naturalitie, they myghte haue ben made
 goddis by counnyng and knowlege: and as the flouth-
 full men are tamed and made lesse than men by their ne-
 gligence, certaynly bleffed is that man that is not content
 to be a man, but if he procure more than a man by his ver 2880
 tue. And curfed is that man that knoweth not to be a mā,
 but maketh him selfe lesse than a man by his vice. By the
 iugement of all philosophers, there is but one, that is the
 first cause, whiche is one god immortalle: and if there be
 dyuers goddis in the heuens, it is bicause there are diuers 2885
 vertues in the erthe. And in the worldes that is past whā
 the simple men were seruantes and bonde men, and the
 good men rulers and gouernours, they were then so este-
 med, bycause they were knowen and renowned in good
 werkes whanne they lyued. So that they were holden 2890
 and reputed as goddis after their deathe. This is the
 ryghte rewarde that commeth of vertue. It is a thyng
 conforant to reason, they that be good amonge so many
 yll in this lyfe, that they shulde be greatly honoured a-
 monge the goddis after their deathe. ye are not wel contēt 2895
 with me, bycause I am alway redynge: but I am worse
 content with you, bycause I neuer se one boke in your hā-
 des: ye thinke it gret trouayle to a fycke man to rede, and
 I repute it a very perillous thinge for a hole man to reste
 and be idell. ye say my redynge is cause of my feuer quar- 2900
 tayne in my flesshe: and I saye that ydelnes engendreth
 great pestilence. Syth I may profite by my bokes, let no
 man haue compaffion of my trouayle. For I desire rather
 to dye as a wise person amonge wise men, than to lyue ig-
 norantly amonge men. I demaunde one thyng of you: 2905

A man

(*f. 49^b) *A man presuminge to be a man and not lerned, what difference is betwene hym and other beastes? Certaynly the beastes are more profitable to labour the erthe, than symple perfons be to serue the common welth. A pore oxe gi-
 2910 ueth his skynne to make shone, his fleshe to be eaten, and his strength to labour: and a poore symple shepe doth profyte, his flece and woll to make cloth, and mylke to make chese. But what profiteth a folysh ideot man? Nothing but offendeth the goddis, sclaudereth innocentis, eateth
 2915 the breade of other, and is chiefe heed of vacabundes. Of trouth if it lay in my handes, I had rather gyue lyfe to a symple oxe, than to a malycious ideot. For the beast liueth for the vtilitie of dyuers without doinge damage to any other: and the simple ideot man lyueth to the damage of
 2920 all other, and without proufite to any persone. Therefore thinke well why I am not pleased with them that be ignorant, and loue them that be lerned. Harke lysrs, and I shall shew you: That mā semeth good, whan he is meke and gentyll of condition, softe in wordes, and restfull in
 2925 his persone, and gracious in conuersation: and contrary wise, that persone soore displeaseth me, that is sharpe of wordes, soore moued in his werkes, riotous in his condition, and double of his promys, and harde harted. Also I say, that if any thinge fayleth a wise man by nature,
 2930 he supplyeth it by science: and he that is ignorant and folysh, if he faileth discretion, he supplyeth therto his malice. And trust ye surely, that a worthy vertuous mā thereby becometh wise, and he is to be trusted: and he that is of an other maner, beware of hym, for he gothe about to
 2935 sell his malice. He that wyl begile an other, the first thing that he dothe is, he putteth him selfe to be simple and ignoraunt. For a man benige [sic] in credence may soone sprede abroad his malyce. These mothes and softe wormes frete
 the

(*f.50)*freate the clothe: and the canker worme perceth the bone,
and flateringe men begyle all the worlde.

2940

¶ Howe science ought to be in princes. Ca. xxx.



He said emperour folowing his purpose, said:
Frendes beholde, howe great damage igno-
rance dothe to all men. And though it be do-
mageable to euery man, yet it is moſte hurte-
full to a prince, whiche ought not onely to be ²⁹⁴⁵
content to knowe as moche as any other wiſe perſon kno-
weth, but to knowe that euery man knoweth, ſithe he is
lorde of all other. To my iugement theſe princis are not
choſen, that they ſhulde eate more mete than all other, nor
to be appareyled rychelier than all other, nor to renne fa- ²⁹⁵⁰
ſter than all other: but with preſuppoſition y they ought
to knowe more than all other. Whan a prince wylle re-
frayne his ſenſualitie, than he ought to regarde, that his
perſon be right honeſt, and remembre this worde that is:
The greater that a prince is of power aboue other, the ²⁹⁵⁵
greater oughte his vertue to be aboue all other. For cer-
tainly the greateſt infamie is, to ſe a man moſt mightye
aboue all other, and moſt ryche of all other, and than to
be knownen an ideot and leſſe of knowlege than other. Al
defautes in a gouernour may be borne ſauſe ignoraunce, ²⁹⁶⁰
for ignorāce in a prince is a ſtroke of peſtilēce: 7 it ſleeth di-
uers, 7 infecteth al perſons, 7 vnpeopleth the realme, cha-
ſeth away frēdes, 7 giueth hart to enmies of ſtrange nati-
ons, that were in drede, 7 finally domageth his pſon, and
ſclādreth euery one. Whā Camill triūphed ouer the frēch- ²⁹⁶⁵
mē, the day of his triūph he wrote theſe wordes in the ca-
pitol: O Rome, thou haſt ben moder of al wiſe men 7 ſtep-
dame to al ſoles. Theſe were worthi wordis of ſuch a lord.

And

O. ii.

(*f. 50^b) *and but if my remembrance begyle me, certaynely Rome
 2970 was more renowmed for wyfe perfoncs that came thyder,
 than for the featis of warre that were sente frome thenſe.
 Our auncient Romaynes were more feared for their wife
 dome and knowlege than for their conqueſtes. Al the erth
 feared them more that tourned leaues of bokes in Rome,
 2975 than they that were armed with armour. For that cauſe
 Rome was neuer vanquyſhed: and though their armies
 were deuyded and broken, yet they neuer lacked wyfe mē.
 I can not ſay it without teares, Rome is fallen from the
 moſt hight of her eſtate: not for faut of money and armes
 2980 for to fight withall, but for lacke of wife men, and vertu-
 ous for to gouerne. Our forefathers wanne lyke men, and
 we leſe lyke ſimple children: al thinges that are deſired of
 men, they attayne by trauayle, ſuſteyne with thought, and
 departe fro with great annoyance. And the reaſon is this:
 2985 There is nothyng ſo good nor ſo well be loued, but the
 cours of tyme cauſeth vs to leaue it, and to diſpraye and
 abhorre it, or be wery therof. This is the vayne vanitie of
 the worlde, and loſt tyme loſt: for with their yong deſires
 they do refrayne their deſires. They wold oftentymes at-
 2990 tayne a thinge, and after they ſtudie howe to go therfro a-
 gayne. And yet to ſhewe further their lyghtnes, that that
 coſt moche, they gyue for a lyttell price. That they loue at
 one tyme, they hate at an other: and that that they with
 great ſtudy and labour haue attained, with greate furye
 2995 they forgo. And me thinketh this is the ordinaunce of the
 goddis, that he that loueth ſhall haue an ende, and that
 is beloued ſhall take an ende: and the tyme that we are
 in ſhall ende. Than it is reaſon, that the loue, wherwith
 we do loue, ſhall ende in lykewiſe. Than our appetite is
 3000 ſo diſhoneſt, that in ſeing we deſire it, and in deſiringe we
 procure it: and in procuringe we attayn it: and in the at-
 tayning

(*f. 51)*taynyng we abhorre it: and in abhorrynge, we leaue it: and than forthewith agayne we procure an other thyng, and that newe procuringe we abhorre ageyne: In suche wife, that whan we begyn to loue a thyng, than we falle ³⁰⁰⁵ ageyne to hate it, and in the fallynge to hate it, we begyn ageine to loue an other thinge. So thus finally our lyfe doth ende, er our couetyse dothe leaue vs. It is not thus of wifedome and knowlege, the which if it ones entre into a mans hart, it causeth hym to forget the trauayle y^e he ³⁰¹⁰ had taken in the attaynyng therof. For he taketh the time past as good, and enioyeth with rightful ioy the time presente, and hathe ydelnes in hate. Nor is not content with that he knoweth, but enforceth his appetite to know more lounge that other leaueth: and leauynge that other lo- ³⁰¹⁵ ueth. Fynally he y^e is perfittly wife, sporteth in this worlde with trauayle, and in trauayling in bokes is his rest. We haue not to say of all thinges, but of that we fele of them. For it is an other maner to speake by fimilitude of a stranger, and of our owne experience. And in this case I saye, ³⁰²⁰ that though we hope of no rewarde of the goddis, nor honour amonge men, nor memorie of the world to come, yet am I ryght gladde to be al onely a philosopher, to se how gloriously the philosophers haue passed their tyme. I demaunde one thyng, whan myn vnderstondyng is obfus- ³⁰²⁵ ked in that I haue to do, and whan my memorie is troubled in that I haue to determyne, and whan my bodye is compassed with dolours, and whan my harte is charged with thoughtis, and whan I am without knowlege, and whan I am set about with peryls: where can I be better ³⁰³⁰ accompanied than with wise men, or els redyng amonge bokes? In bokes I fynd wyfedom, wherby I may lerne: also there I fynde worthynes, which I may folow: I find there prudence to counsell me, I fynde suche as be sorow-
full

¶(*f. 51^b) 3035 *full, with whom I may wepe: I finde there them that be
 mery, with whome I may laughe: I fynde there symple
 folke, at whom I may sporte: I fynde that is noughte,
 whiche I maye leaue: And finally in writynge I fynde,
 howe in prosperitie I ought to behaue me: and howe in
 3040 aduerfitie I oughte to guyde me. O howe happy is that
 man, that hath wel redde: And yet more happy is he, that
 though he knoweth moche, yet stayeth vpon counfel. And
 if this be true generally, than moche more is it necessarie
 he [!] to kepe the true way, which gouerneth al other. It is a
 3045 rule infallible, that a prince being wyfe, can neuer be sim-
 ply good, but very good: and the prince that is ignorant
 can not be simply yll, but very yl. A prince that is not wel
 fortunate, his wyfedome may greatly excuse hym to his
 people of his myffortunes giuen to him by fortune. Whā
 3050 a prince is greatly beloued of his cōmontie, and is vertu-
 ous of his persone, than euery man sayth, if he haue not
 good fortune: Al though our prince wāt good fortune, yet
 his worthy vertues fayle not: and though he be not hap-
 py in his ententis, yet at the least he sheweth his wyfedom
 3055 in the meane season: And thoughe fortune denye hym at
 one howre, yet at an other tyme she agreeth by his wyfe-
 dome. And contrary wise an vnwyfe prince, and hated of
 his people, by finistre fortune renneth into great perylle.
 For if yll succede to him in weighty matters, than incon-
 3060 tinent it shalbe sayd, it is by reason of the ignorāce of him
 selfe, or by yll counsel of such as be about hym: 7 if good-
 nes succede to him, it shall not be attributed by reason of
 his good gouernance, but that fortune hathe suffered it,
 and not by the circumspect wyfedome that he hath hadde
 3065 in the meane season, but that it was of the pitie that the
 goddis had of hym. Than fithe it is thus, a vertuous 7
 worthy prince in his ydell tymes oughte secretely to rede
 in bo-

(*f.52) *in bokes, and openly to common and counsell with wyfe men. And in case yll fortune wyll not permyt hym to take their councelles, yet at the leaste he shall recouer credence ³⁰⁷⁰ amonge his subiectes. I wyll saye no more to you, but I esteeme the knowlege of a wise persone, so that if I knewe that there were shops of sciences, as there is of other marchandise, I wold giue al that I haue onely to lerne that a wyfe manne lerneth in one daye. Fynally I saye, that I ³⁰⁷⁵ wyll not gyue that lytell that I haue lerned in one houre, for all the golde in the worlde: and more glorye haue I of the bokes that I haue redde, and of suche workes as I composed, than of all the victories that I haue had, or of the realmes that I haue wonne. 3080

¶ What a vilayne faide to the senatours of Rome in the presence of the emperour. Cap. .xxxix.



His emperour being sicke, as it is aforesaid, on a day as there were with him diuers phitiens 7 oratours, there was a purpose moued among them, how gretly Rome was chāged, not al only in edifices but also in custo- ³⁰⁸⁵mes, 7 was ful of flaterers, 7 unpepled of men ȳ durst say the trouth. Than the emperour sayd: In the fyrst yere ȳ I was cōfull, there cam a pore vilayn from the riuer of Danubie to aske iustice of the senate ayenst a cēsūre, who did diuers extorcions to the people: and he had a small face 7 ³⁰⁹⁰ great lippes, 7 holow eied, his heer curled, 7 bare heeded, his shoes of a porkepes skyn, his cote of gotis heer, his girdel of boll rushe, 7 a wild eglātine in his hāde, it was a strāge thing to se him so monstuous, and meruaylle to here his purpose. Certainly whan I saw him com into the ³⁰⁹⁵senate, I wend it had ben som beest in the figure of a mā. ^{3095a} And

(*f. 52^b) *And after I had herde hym, I iuged hym one of the goddis, if there be goddis amonge men. And as the custome in the senate was, that the complayntes of poore persons were hard before the requestis of the ryche: this vil-
 3100 layne had lycence to speake, and so beganne his purpose, wherein he shewed hym selfe as bolde, as extreme 7 bafe in his aray, and sayd: O ye ancient fathers and happy people, I Myles dwellynge on the ryuers and cityes of the fludde of Danubie do salute you senatours that are here
 3105 asssembled in the sacred senate. The dedes permytteth, and the goddis suffreth, that the captayns of Rome with their great pride haue reduced vnder subiection the vnhappye people of Germany. Great is the glorie of you Romainys for your battayles that ye haue wonne throughout all the
 3110 world. But if the wryters say tru, more greter shalbe your infamy in tyme to com, for the cruelties that ye haue done to the innocentes. My predeceffours had people nygh to the flode of Danubie, and bycause they dyd ylle, the erthe waxed drie, and they drewe to the fresshe water: than the
 3115 water was noyfull to them, and they returned to the ferm land. What shall I say than? your couetyse is so great to haue straungers goodes, and your pride so renowned, to commaunde all strange landes, that the see may not profite vs in the depenes therof, nor the erthe to assure vs in
 3120 the caues therof. Therefore I hope in the iust goddis, that as ye without reason haue caste vs out of our howses and possessions: that other shall come, that by reason shall cast you out of Italy and Rome. And an infallible rule it is, that he that taketh an other mans good, shal lese the right
 3125 of his owne. Regard ye Romainys, though I be vilayne, yet I knowe who is iuste and rightwyfe in holdynge his owne: and who a tyrant, in possesseinge other. There is a rule, that what so euer they that be yll haue gathered in
 many

(*f.53)*many dayes, the goddis taketh fro them in one day: and contrarie wife all that euer the good haue losfe in many ³¹³⁰ days, the goddis reftoreth to them agayn in one day. Be-leue me in one thyng, 7 doute not therin, that of the vnlaue full winning of y^e fathers, there foloweth there after the iufte loffe to their children. And if the goddis toke frome them that be yll euery thyng that they haue wonne, as ³¹³⁵ foone as it is wonne, it were but reafone, but in lettynge them alone, therby they affemble by lytel and lytel dyuers thinges. And than whan they thinke leaſte theron is taken from them all at ones. This is a iuſt iugement of the goddis: that fyth they haue done yll to diuers, that ſome ³¹⁴⁰ ſhulde do yll to them. Certaynly it is nat poſſible to any vertuous man, if he be vertuous, that he take any taſt in an other mans good. And I am fore abaſhed, how a mā kepinge an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Syth he ſeeth y^e he hath done iniurie to the goddis, ſclādred his ³¹⁴⁵ neybour, pleted his enmies, loſt his frēdes greued them that he hath robbed, and aboue al hath put his owne perſon in peryll. This is a ſhamefull thyng amonge men, and culpable before the goddis, the man that hath the deſyre of his harte, and the bridelle of his warkes at ſuche ³¹⁵⁰ lybertie, that the lyttell that he taketh and robbeth fro the poore, ſemeth moche to hym: but a great dele of his owne ſemeth to him but lyttel. O what an vnhappy man is he, whether he be greke or latyn, that without confideration wyl change his good fame in to ſhame, iuſtice into wrōg, ³¹⁵⁵ right in to tyranny, or trouth into leſinge, the certayn in to vncertayne, hauynge annoyance of his owne goodes, and dye for other mens? He that hath his principall intētion to gather goodes for his chyldren, and ſeke not for a good name amonge them that be good: It is a iuſt cauſe ³¹⁶⁰ that he leſe all his goodes, and ſo without good name to be

(*f. 53^b) *to be fhamefull amonge them that be yl. Let all couetous and auaricious people knowe, that neuer amonge noble men was gotten good renoume with fpredying abrode of
 3165 yll gotten goodes. It can nat endure many days, nor yet be hydden vnder couert many yeres: a man to be holden ryche amonge them that be ryche, and an honorable man amonge them that be honorable: for he shalbe infamed of that he hath gathered his ryches with great couetyse, or
 3170 kepeth it with extreme auaryce. O if these couetous people were as couetous of their owne honour, as they be of other mens goodes: I fwere to you, that the lyttel worm or mothe that eateth the gownes or clothes of luche couetous people, shulde not eate the rest of their lyfe, nor the
 3175 cankre of infamie distroye their goode name and fame at their deathes. Harke ye Romaines, harke what I wyl say, I wolde to the goddes that ye coude taste it. I se that all the worlde hateth pride, and yet is there none that followeth mekenes and humilitie: Euery man condemneth
 3180 aduoutrie, and yet I see none that lyueth chaste: Euerye man curfeth exceffe, and I se none lyue temperately: euery man prayfeth pacience, and I se none that wyl suffre: euery mā blameth flouth, and I se none but they be idel: euery one blameth auaryce, and yet euery body robbeth.
 3185 One thinge I say, and not without wepinge: I say euery man with his tongue onely prayfeth vertues, and yet they them selves with all their lymmes are seruantes vnto vices. I say not this onely for the Romaines, whiche bene in Illirie: but I say it by the senatours that I se in
 3190 the senate. All ye Romaines in your deuises about your armes beare these wordes: *Romanorum est debellare superbos, et parcere subiectis*, That is, it pertaineth to Romaines to subdewe theym that be proude, and to forgyue subiectes. But certaynely ye maye better say: hit pertayneth to Romaines

(*f. 54)*maynes to expelle innocentes, and to trowble and vex³¹⁹⁵
 wrongefully peasible people: For ye Romaines are but
 destroyers of peasible people, and theues to robbe frome
 other, that they sweate for.

¶ Of dyuers other thinges that the vilayne sayd
 before the senate. Cap. xxxii.



ye Romainys (said this villayne) what action
 haue ye, that are brought vp nygh to the ry-³²⁰⁰
 uer of Thyber, agaynste vs that are nygh to
 the ryuer of Danubie: Haue ye sene vs fren-
 des to your ennemies? or haue we declared
 vs your ennemies? or haue ye herde, that we haue lefte
 our owne lande, and inhabited any straunge landis? or³²⁰⁵
 haue ye herde, that we haue rebelled ageynst our lordes,
 or haue troubled any strange realmes? or haue ye sent vs
 any ambassadours, to desire vs to be your frendes? or
 hath any hoste of ours come to Rome to distroye you, as
 our enmies? or hath any king died in our realme, or what³²¹⁰
 antike lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought to be your
 subiectis? Of trouthe in Almayne hereby they haue felte
 your tirannie, as wel as we haue herde of your renoume.
 And more ouer I say, that the names of the Romainys, 7
 the cruelties of tyrantis aryued to gither in one day vpon³²¹⁵
 our people. I wote not what ye wyll say, that the goddis
 care not of the hardines of mē: for I se ý he that hath mo-
 che, yet doth he tirāny to him that hath but litell. And he ý
 hath but lytel, though it be to his infamy, yet he wyl serue
 him ý hath moch. So that disordred mē appoint thē with³²²⁰
 secrete malice, 7 ý secrete malice giueth place to opē theft.
 7 to the open robbery no mā resisteth. And therfore it co-
 meth, that the couetise of an yll man necessarilly is hadde
 to be

(*f. 54^b) *to be complete to the preiudice of many good men. One
 3225 thyng I wyl say, that eyther the goddis ought to thinke
 howe these men shall haue an ende, or elles that the world
 must ende: or els the worlde to be no worlde: Or fortune
 must holde sure with you, if all that ye haue won in .viii.
 C. yeres ye lese not in .viii. dayes. And where as ye are
 3230 become lordes ouer many, ye shall become slaues to all
 the worlde. Certainly the goddis shall be vniuste, with-
 out that thinge come that must fall in the worlde hereaf-
 ter. For that man that maketh him selfe a tyrant parforce,
 It is right that he retourne to be a sclaue by Iustice. And
 3235 it is reason, that sith ye haue taken our myserable lande,
 that ye kepe vs in Iustice. I haue meruaylle of you Ro-
 mayns, to sende so simple persons to be our iuges. For I
 fwere to the goddis, they can not declare your lawes, nor
 vnderstande ours. I wote not whether ye sent them thy-
 3240 der or no, but I shal shewe you, what they do there. They
 take openly what so euer is delyuered to them: and they
 doo their proufite with that they desyre in secrete. They
 chaftise the poore persone greuoufely, and they forbear
 for money them that be riche: They consent to many wrō-
 3245 ges, to bringe them after to the lawes, without goodes it
 boteth not to demande Iustice: and finally vnder colour
 that they be iuges vnder the senate of Rome, they say they
 may robbe all the londe. What is this ye Romainys? shall
 your pride neuer haue an ende in commandyng, nor your
 3250 couetise in robbynge? Saye what ye wyll. If ye do it for
 our chyl dren, charge theym with irons, and make theym
 sclaues: If ye do it for our goodes, go thither and take
 them: If our seruice doth not content you, stryke of our
 heedes. Why is not the knyfe so cruell in our throtes as
 3255 your tyrannies is in your hartes? Doo ye knowe what
 ye haue done ye Romaines? ye haue caused vs, to fwere
 neuer

(*f.55) *neuer to retourne to our wyues: but to flee [flee?] our chyldren rather than to leaue them in the handes of so cruel tirantes. We had leauer suffre the bestly motions of the fleshe for .xx. or .xxx. yeres, than to dye without wounde leuyng³²⁶⁰ our childrē sclaues, ye ought not to do thus ye Romains. A londe taken par force ought the better to be ruled, to thē tent that the myserable captiues, seinge Iustice duely ministred to them, shuld therby forgette the tyranny passed, and to set their hartis to perpetuall seruitude. And sythe³²⁶⁵ we are come to complayne of the grefes that your Censures do vpon the fludde of Danubie, peradventure you of the senate wyll here vs. Wote ye what ye doo? Harke and I shal shewe you. If there come a righte poore man to demande Iustice, hauyng no money to gyue, nor wine³²⁷⁰ to present, nor oyle to promyse, they fede hym with wordis sayinge howe he shal haue Justice: but they make hym to waste the lyttell that he hath, and gyue hym nothyng, though he demande moche. And so the myserable persone that came to complayn, retourneth complaynyng on you³²⁷⁵ all, curfinge his cruell destenies, and maketh exclamatiō vppon the rightwise goddis. I lyue with acornes in winter, and cut downe the grene corne in sommer, and sometyme I go a fyshyng for pastyme, so that the moste parte of my liuyng is fedyng in the feldes: and ye wote not³²⁸⁰ why: here me, and I shal shewe you. I se suche tyrannies in your censures, and suche robberies amonge the poore people, and I se suche warres in that realme, and hope of so small remedy in your senate, that I am determined as most vnhappy, to banishe my selfe out of myn own hous,³²⁸⁵ and honest company, to thentent that my harte shuld not fele so great a hurt. It is a great payne to suffre the ouerthrowe of fortune: but it is a greater yl, whan one feleth it and can not remedy it: and yet without comparison my
great-

(*f. 55^b) 3290 *greatest grefe is, whan my losse may be remedied, and he that may wyll not, and he that wyll can not remedy it. O ye cruell Romainys: if the sorowes all onely shulde be reduced to memorie that we suffre, my tonge shulde be wery, and all my membres faynte, and myn eyes shulde wepe
 3295 bluddy teares and my fleshe consumed. This in my lode may be sene with eyes, herde with eares, and felte in propre persone. Certaynly my herte departeth, and my soule is troubled, 7 myn entrayles breake. And I beleue yet the goddis wyl haue compassion. I wil desire you not to take
 3300 my wordes for sclandre. For ye Romainys, if ye be Romainys, ye shall well se, that the trouble that we haue, cometh by men, and among men, and with men, and by the handes of men. Than it is no meruayle though men fele it as men. One thinge comforteth me, and dyuers tymes
 3305 amonge other that be yll fortunate, it cometh to such purpose, the whiche is: I thinke the goddis be so rightwise, that their fierce and cruel chastifementes come not but by our owne cruel shrewdnes: 7 our secrete sinnes awaketh vs so, that we haue open Iustice. But of one thing I am
 3310 fore troubled, bicause the goddis can not be contēted. For a good persone for a lytell faut is greatly chastised, and he that is yl, for many fautes is not punished at al. So thus ŷ goddis forbeareth some 7 some haue no mercy. Thus it semeth that the goddis wyl turment vs by the handes of
 3315 suche men as greue vs extremely. So that if there were a ny iustice in the worlde, whan they chastise vs with their handes, we shulde not merite to haue our heedes on the sholders. Therefore I say to you, ye Romainys, and swere by the immortal goddis, that in .xv. days ŷ I haue ben in
 3320 Rome, I haue sene such dedes done in your senate, that if the lest dede of them had ben done at Danubie, the galowes 7 gibettes had ben hanged thicker of theues, than the

(*f.56)*the vineyard with grapes and reifons. And fith ý my de-
 fire hath fene that it defyreth, my harte is at refte: in fpre-
 dyng abrode the poyfon that was in it. If my tonge hath ³³²⁵
 offended you in any thinge, I am here redy to make recõ-
 pence with my throte. For in good fothe, I had rather to
 wyne honour, offerynge my felfe to the deathe, than ye
 fhuld haue it in taking my lyfe fro me. Thus this vilain
 ended his purpofe. Than the emperour fayd: How think ³³³⁰
 ye my frendes, what kernel of a nut? What golde of filth?
 what grayne of ftrawe? what rofe of thornes? What ma-
 rowe of bones dyd he vnouer? what reafons fo hie? what
 wordis fo wel fette, what trouth fo true, and what malice
 opened he fo? He difcouered the duetie of a good manne. ³³³⁵
 And I fwere to you, as I may be deliuered from this euil
 feuer that I haue: that I faw this vilayn ftanding a hole
 houre on the erth boldly, 7 we holding downe our heedes
 abafhed, 7 coude not anfwere him a word. The next day it
 was accorded in the fenat, to fend new iuges to Danubie. ³³⁴⁰
 And we cõmanded the vilain, to deliuer vs in writing, all
 that he had fayd, that it might be regiftred in the boke of
 good fayinges of ftrangers. And the faid vilayne for his
 wife wordes was made patricien, 7 fo taried ftyl at Rome,
 and for euer was fufteyned of the cõmon treasure. ³³⁴⁵

¶ Howe themperour defired the welth of his peo-
 ple, and the people his welthe. Cap. xxxiii.



N the fecond yere that Mar. [sic] was chõfen em-
 perour, the .xlv. yere of his age, as he retour-
 ned fro the warres that he had in conquering
 the Germayns and the Aragon, wherby he
 got glory 7 riches for the Romaynes empire, ³³⁵⁰
 he lay at Salon to refte hym, and to appoynt his armie,
 and

(*f. 56^b) *and to thentent that the Romaynes fhulde apparelle his triumph in Rome right glorious and rychly: There was one thyng done, that was neuer fene before in Rome. For
 3355 the day of his triumph by al the people and consent of the senate the prince Comodus, sonne to Marc9 Au. was chosen after the dethe of his father to be emperour uniuerfal of thempire. He was not chosen by the petition of his father, for he was agaynst it with all his power, sayinge,
 3360 that the empire oughte not to be gyuen for the lawde of them that be deed, but he shoulde be chosen for his owne good werkes. Often tymes this emperour wolde saye: Rome shall be losfe whan the election shall be taken froo the senate, and the Emperour to enheryte the empyre by
 3365 Patrymonie.

¶ Nowe to retourne where as we lefte. This emperour beinge at Salon studied fore to entre into Rome in good order, and Rome studied soore howe to receyue hym as it appertayned triumphantly for such a warre. He was fore
 3370 defyred of thempire: and euer he imagined how to do pleasure to the people, and the people were redy to dye in his seruice. Dyuers tymes was moued a pleasant purpose in the senate, which of these thynges was moste to be loued: The emperour to loue the people of the empire, or the people
 3375 ple of thempire themperour. On a daye it was determined to sette iuges in that case: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Rodes: and vppon that effecte they hadde writynge. It was layde for the emperour, the good dedes that he had done in his absence, and
 3380 the tokens of loue that they had alwayes shewed in his presence. And on an other day the emperour moued another question before the senate, sayeng that it was a gretter glorie to haue suche subiectes, than the glorie of the senate to haue suche an emperour. Than the senate sayde
 naye:

(*f.57) *nay: Affirmyng ý it was a greater glory that they had of ³³⁸⁵
hym, than he coude haue of them. And in this maner the
emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to
the emperour. Thus in sporte and play they toke iudges
agayn. It was a merueylous thing to se the ioy that they
all had to proue their intentes. And the good emperour ³³⁹⁰
for a memorie gaue the laude to the peple, bicause of their
great obedience and seruice, and extreme loue that he had
founde in them. And the happy people recoüted the great
clemency 7 mercy that was in themperour, and his vertue
7 worthines in gouerninge, his honestie of lyuyng, 7 his ³³⁹⁵
force and valyātnes in conquering. It was a great thing
to see the honour that the people gaue to the emperour, 7
the good renowme that the emperour gaue to the peoole [sic].
The writinges were gyuen to the sfrage ambaffadours,
to thentent that the people might lerne to obey their prin- ³⁴⁰⁰
cis: and princis to loue their people. To the ende that by
suche examples (as it was reafon) the good people shulde
enforce them selfe, and the ill to withdrawe. Thus this
emperour adressed his entre with his capitaines 7 capti-
ues. And Rome appareyled them with al their senatours ³⁴⁰⁵
and people to receyue hym. It was a huge thinge to see
what people was at Rome to go forthe to mete hym, and
what people were with the emperour to entre. They that
were at Salon had their eyes and also their hartes at
Rome: and they that were at Rome had their hartes at ³⁴¹⁰
Salon. In such wyfe that theyr eies daseled with that
they sawe, and their hartis aked for that they hoped to se.
There is no greater peyn, than whan the harte is defer-
red fro that it longeth fore to haue.

¶ How themperour gaue Lucylla his daughter ly-
cence to sport her at his palays. Cap. xxxiiii.

It

(*f. 57^b) 3415*

T is to be knowen, that the Romaines had a
 custome, that in the moneth of Janiuer they
 shulde make triumphes to their emperours:
 and in the same seson that the triumphes were
 appareiled, Faustin thempresse caused dyuers
 3420 high persons to praye the emperour to gyue lycence to a
 doughter of his, to com from there as she was kept to the
 palays, and sporte her at the feastes. This mayden was
 named Lucie or Lucyll: She was hygher than the prince
 Commodus her brother: she was of a goodly gesture 7
 3425 well proporcioned of her bodye, and well be loued of her
 mother. And she resembled her not all onely in her beau-
 tie, but also in her lyuyng. And though the request was
 pitefull, and they that made it familier, and he to whom
 it was made was the father, and the demaunder was the
 3430 mother, and she for whom it was made, was the dough-
 ter: the emperour graunted it, but not without great di-
 spleasure. Neuertheles Faustine was full glad, and as
 sone as she had obtained lycence, she brought her dough-
 ter to the palais. And so whan the day of the great feaste
 3435 and triumph was comme, the damoyzell Lucylle beinge
 out of gouernance, and seinge her selfe at large, trusting
 than vppon her owne innocencye, toke no hede of any
 strange malyce, laughed with them that laughed, talked
 with them that talked, and behelde them that beheld her,
 3440 7 without care she thought that none thought ylle of her,
 bycause she thought yll of none: yet in those days a may-
 den to laugh amonge men was reputed as moch as a wo-
 man to haue done aduoutrie with the prestes of Grece: so
 great was the honestie of Romayn women esteemed. And
 3445 lightnes of maydens was a great infamie: for they were
 wors punished for one open lightnes, than for two secrete
 fautes. Amonge all other feuen thinges the women dyd
 obserue

(*f.58) *oferue ſurely, that is to wite: not to ſpeke moche at feaſtes, not to eate moche at bankettis, to drinke no wyne in their helthe, nor to ſpeke alone with men, nor to lyfte vp ³⁴⁵⁰ their eies in the temples, nor to ſtande longe lokinge out at wyndowes, nor to go out of their houſes without their huſbandes. The woman taken with any of theſe diſhoneſt thynges, was always after reputed infamed. Many thynges were ſuffred in perſonnes of ſmalle reputation, ³⁴⁵⁵ that were not ſuffred in perſons of honour. For the noble womē coude not cōferue the reputation of their eſtate, but by reſon of kepyng their perſon in gret fere 7 good order. Al thinges done vnkindly is ſyn, 7 may be amended: but the diſhoneſt womā is alwaye ſhamed. The noble ladies, ³⁴⁶⁰ if they wyl be takē as ladies, whan they excede other in riches, the leſſe licence ought they to haue to go wādryng about. Certainly the plētie of goodes, 7 the libertie of perſons, ſhuld not be a ſpur to pricke thē forward, but rather a brydell to kepe them in their cloſettes. And this is ſayd, ³⁴⁶⁵ for bycauſe that duryng the ſayd feaſtes, the damoyſell Lucille, as a yonge mayden, and Fauſtyne her louyng mother not beinge olde, ſommetyme a foote, and ſometyme rydyng on horſebacke, ſometyme openly, and ſometyme meruaylous ſecretely, ſommetymes with company ³⁴⁷⁰ and ſommetymes without company, ſommetyme on the day, and nowe and than by nyghte, they wolde walke abroad in the ſtretes of Rome to ſe the feldeſ of Uulcan, in gardeyns Saturnynes, and drinke at the conduites of Neros water, and ſommetyme paſſe the tyme by the fayre ³⁴⁷⁵ ryuer of Thybre, and in all ſuche other pleaſant ſportes as appertayned to their age. And though the fore ryped primetyme prouoked them therto, yet the grauitie of ſuche ladyes ſhulde not haue ſuffred it. I wyl ſay one thing to thentent noble women ſhuld take aduertifemēt therby, ³⁴⁸⁰ and

Q. ii.

(*f. 58^b) *and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greattest
 dissoluition, either the walkynge abroad of Fauſtine and
 Lucille through the ſtretes and other places, or elles the
 boldnes of yll ſpeakers, ſpeakynge ageinſt their perſons
 3485 and good names. The withdrawinge and kepyng of wo-
 men cloſe is a bridell to the tongues of all men: and the
 woman that dothe otherwiſe, otherwiſe putteth her good
 name in daunger. Of trouth it were better for a woman
 neuer to be borne, than to be defamed. Amonge the Ro-
 3490 mayns the lygnage of the Cornelies were had in great e-
 ſtimation. For of theym all neuer none was founde a co-
 warde, nor a woman defamed. The hiſtories ſhewe, that
 ones a lady of that lygnage, beinge onely defamed, was
 hanged on the galowes by the handis of her owne kins-
 3495 folke. Surely it was well done of the Romaynes, to the
 entent that the wyckednes of one woman ſhuld not ſuffre
 yll fame to renne vpon the hole lygnage: where is there
 noblenes withoute ſhame? The thinges that touche ho-
 nour, ought not to be hyd but amended by Juſtice, and to
 3500 put them to deathe, that loſe their good fame. It is not
 ſufficient for a perſon to be good: but it is neceſſary that
 he put fro hym all occaſions that are reputed to be yll. All
 the loſſes that a man may haue of any temporall goodes,
 can not cowntrepeyſe the leſte loſſe of good fame. A man
 3505 that layeth his good name for a ferthing at a butte of this
 worlde, at a hundred ſhottes ſcantely ſhall he ſhote one a-
 ryght. And contrary wiſe the man that fereth not ſhame,
 nor wyll not haue his perſonne in reputation, there is no
 hope of goodnes in him. Than this emperour (as a ſhyp-
 3510 mayſter ſaylynge in moofte faire and calme wether, fore-
 caſteth, and is in greatte thought and feare to tempeſtes
 and ſtormes to comme) in the feaſtes of his greate glorie
 was in doubte of theſe two ladies, leſte ſodenly any myſ-
 fame

(*f.59)*fame shuld folowe. And certaynly he had great caufe. For it is an infallible rule of enuious fortune, that this present felicitie is giuen with a pricke of a sodayne falle of myfchaunce. In thinges naturall, we fe somtyme the fee caulme, and yet forthwith foloweth a peryllous ftorme, and confequently the great heate of the daye is figne of thonder at nyght. I fay fortune comynge with fome present delyte or pleafure, is a token that by flatteryng vs, ſhe hath made redy her fnares to catche vs. Whā the miller is fure, he drefleth his water gate, and the labourer whan it reyneth not, couereth his houfe, thinkinge that an other tyme the wethers or raynes wyll fall theron and trouble hym: In lykewyfe a wyfe and vertuous manne ought to thinke (as longe as he lyueth in this worlde) he holdeth his felicitie but at aduenture: and his aduerfitie for his naturall patrimonie. Amonge all them that coude reioyce in prosperitie, and helpe theym ſelfe in aduerfitie, this emperour Marcus Aurelius was one: whiche for any flatterynges that Fortune coude ſhewe hym, he neuer truſted in them: nor for myfhappe that he had in this life he neuer diſpaired.

¶ What Marcus themperour ſaid to a Senatour as touchinge tryumphes. Cap. xxxv.



Hanne theſe feaſtes were paſſed, as Sextus Cheronenſe ſaith, a ſenatour named Aluinus ſayd to themperour, the ſame nyght that the triumph ceaſſed: Syr reioyce you, ſithe that this day ye haue gyuen ſo great ryches to the common treaſure of Rome: and I haue ſene your perſon in the triumph of glorie: and to the world to come of you and your howſe you haue leſte perpetuall memorie. The empe-

Q. iii.

(*f. 59b) *emperour heringe these wordes, sayd in this maner: Frêd
 it is good refon we beleue the hûter knoweth the fierfnes
 3545 of beftis, the phifition the propretie of herbes, y̅ maryner
 the perils of rockes, the capitayns the chaunces of warre,
 and the emperour that triumpheth the ioys that he hath
 of triumphes. As god helpe me, and and [sic] as euer I haue
 part with my predeceffours, and as euer I haue good for-
 3550 tune, the thoughtes that I haue had for thefe feftes, haue
 ben farre greater than the feares that I haue had in all
 the iournays and battayles afore. And the reafon therof
 is very euident, to them that haue clere vnderftandyng:
 For alway in cruel batayles I was euer in hope to haue
 3555 glory, 7 feared not the ouerthrow of fortune. What coude
 I lofe in battayle? Nothinge but the lyfe, that is the leefft
 thinge that men haue, and alway in thefe triumphes I
 feare to lofe renowme, whiche is the greatteft gyfte that
 the goddis haue gyuen me. O howe happy is that man,
 3560 that lofeth his lyfe, and leueth behynde hym perpetuall
 memorie? Lette euery man vnderftande this that wyll,
 and faye what they lyfte: that amonge noble and valy-
 aunt barons, he dyeth not, that lefeth his lyfe, and lea-
 ueth good renoume after hym: and moche leffe tyme ly-
 3565 ueth he that hath an yll name, thoug he lyued many ye-
 res. The auncient philofophers rekened not the lyfe of a
 man, though he lyued many yeres, but they rekened the
 good werkes that he hadde doone. The fenate was im-
 portune vppon me, that I fhulde take this triumphe, as
 3570 ye knowe well: and I can not tell whiche was greatteft,
 their defire, or my refiftaunce. you knowe not the trouth
 why I fay thus. I dyd it not bycaufe of ambition and for
 couetoufnes of glorie, but it was bicaufe I fere y̅ humain
 malice. At the day of the triumph there was not fo great
 3575 ioy fhewed by the fimple perfons, but the hyd enuye was
 greater

(*f. 60. *greater amonge the gretest persons. This glory passeth
ez. als 40) in one day, but enuy abydeth a hole yere. The plentyfulle
realme of Egypt (so happy in the bloodshed of their enemies
as in the waters of Nyle) had a lawe immouable. They
neuer denyed their mercy to the captiues ouercome: nor 3580
they gaue no triumph to their capitayns ouercomers.

¶ The Caldees mocke at the Romain triumphes, affirm-
myng how there is not giuen so great chastisement to the
capitayne of Egypte ouercome: as the empire Romaine
giue to the ouercomer whan triumphe is giuen to hym. 3585
And surely the reason is good: for the thoughtful capy-
taine, whan he hath chased his ennemyes, that Rome
hath in straunge landes, with his owne proper speare, in
paymente for his trauayle they gyue hym enemyes in his
owne proper lande. I swere to you, that all the Romaine 3590
capitaines haue not left so many enemyes deed by swerde,
as they haue recouered yll wyllars the daye of theyr try-
umphes. Let vs leaue the Caldees and speke we of oure
auncyent Romaines, which if they myghte retorne nowe
agayne in to the worlde, they wolde rather be teyed faste 3595
to the chariottes as captiues, than to fyt in them as vyc-
tours. And the cause is, theyr neighbours feinge them go-
inge as captiues, wolde moue theyr hertes to set them at
libertie, so that the glorie of their triumphes is a meane to
cause them to be persecuted and pursued. I haue red in 3600
writinge, and herd of my predeceffours, and haue seen of
my neighbours, that the haboundaunce of felicitie hath
caused cruel enuie to be in many. O in what peril are they
that with particular honor wold be exalted among other?
In the mooste highest trees the force of wyndes is mooste 3605
aduaunced. And in mooste sumtuous buildynges lighte-
ninge and thonder do the [dothe] mooste hurte, and in greatte
thycke and drye buffhes the fyres kendle mooste easelye:

(*f. 60^b) *I say that in them that fortune hath reyled molste highly,
 3610 ageynst them spredeth the greattest poyson of enuye. All
 such as be vertuous say: The mo ennemies they subdue
 to the common welthe: the moo enuious they recouer of
 their renoume. One ought to haue great compaffion of a
 vertuous man: bycause where he trauayleth to be good,
 3615 there abydeth one thyng in hym, of the whiche all onely
 at the deth he seeth the ende. And that is, the more a man
 recouereth here renowme amonge strangers, the more he
 is persecuted with enuy amonge his owne nations. Ho-
 mer sheweth in his Illiades, that Caluitio kynge of the
 3620 Argiues was experte in clergie, valiant in armes, and in-
 dued with dyuers graces, beloued of his people, aboue
 all other he was a great louer of his goddis and worshyp-
 per of them. This good kinge had a custome, that in all
 thynges that he had to do, he wolde fyrste aske counsell
 3625 in the temples of the goddis: he wolde begyn no warre
 ageynst other, nor ordeyne no newe lawe nor custome in
 his realme: nor gyue aunswere to thambassadours, nor
 put no trespasours to dethe: nor set no tribute on his peo-
 ple: but first he wolde go to the temple, and make diuers
 3630 sacrifices, to knowe the wyll of the goddis. And bycause
 he went so often to the oracles, he was demaunded what
 answere the goddis made to him in secrete, seinge he was
 so importunate. Than he answered and sayd: I demand
 of the goddis that they shulde not giue me so lyttell, that
 3635 euery man myght abate and ouercome me: Nor also that
 they shulde gyue me so moche, that euery manne shoulde
 hate me: but my desire is to haue a meane estate, wher-
 with euery manne myght loue me. For I hadde leauer
 be felawe with many in loue, than to be kynge of all with
 3640 hatred and enuy.

(*f.61) *¶ Of the greate reproche that themperour gaue to his wyfe Fauftine and her doughter. Cap. xxxvi.



After the feastes of the tryumphe afore sayde, this good emperour wyllynge to satysfye his hart, and to aduertise Fauftine his wyfe, and to teche his innocent doughter, withoute knowledge of any other, he sente for theym ³⁶⁴⁵ and sayde: I am not contente Fauftine with that youre doughter dooth, and yet lesse with that you doo, whiche ar her mother. These maydens for to be good maydens ought well to knowe, howe to obey theyr mothers: And the mothers to be good mothers, oughte to knowe howe ³⁶⁵⁰ to brynge vppe theyr chyl dren. The father is excused in gyuyng counsaile, if the mother be vertuous, and the doughter shamefaste. It is a greate shame to the father being a noble man, that his wyfe beyng a woman shuld chaftyse his sonne: And a great inconuenience of the mo- ³⁶⁵⁵ ther, beyng a mother that her doughter shulde be chaftised by the handes of her father. There was a lawe ordeyned by the Rodyens, that the father with the daughter, if she had a mother, nor the mother with the sonne, if he were a man, shulde not entermedle eche with other, but ³⁶⁶⁰ alonely men with men, and women with women oughte to be brought vp. And theextremyte of the law was suche, that amonge theym that dwelled in one house semed the fathers hadde no daughters, nor the mother no sonnes. O Rome, I wepe not to se thy stretes vn timer, nor that ³⁶⁶⁵ there is so many gutters in thy houses, nor that the batilmentes fall downe, nor thy tymber hewed downe, nor for the mynyshinge of thin habitantes [sic], for all this the time bringethe, and the time bereth away: but I wepe for the and wepe for the agayne, to se the vn timer of good fa- ³⁶⁷⁰ thers

(*f. 61^b) *thers, and vnprovidid in the nourishing of their sonnes.

Our countreye began to faile vtterly, whan the doctrine of sonnes and doughters was enlarged, and their bridell lette go at libertie. For there is nowe such boldnesse in mē
 3675 children, and so lyttell shamefastnes in women children, with the dishonestie of the mothers, that where as one father suffised for .xx. sonnes, 7 one mother for .xxx. doughters, nowe .xx. fathers scantly dare vndertake to bringe vp well one sonne, and .xxx. mothers one doughter. I say
 3680 to you thus Faustine, you remēbre not how you are a mother, you gyue more libertie to your doughter than ought to be suffred. And you Lucille remembre not, how you ar a daughter. For you shewe to haue more lybertie than requireth for a yonge mayden. The greattest gyfte that the
 3685 goddis haue gyuen to the matrons of Rome is, bycause they are women, they kepe them self close and secrete: and bycause they be Romayns, they are shamefaste. The day whan the women want the feare of the goddis secretly, and shame of menne openly, beleue me, eyther they shall
 3690 faile the worlde, or the worlde them. The common welth requireth so greatte necessitie, that the women that dwel therin shuld be as honest, as the capitayns to be valiant. For the capitaynes going to warre defende them, and the women that abyde at home conferue them. As a .iiii. yere
 3695 passed ye sawe the great pestilence, and I demanded then to haue accompt of the people, and I founde that of .a. C. xl. M. women well lyuyng .lxxx. M. dyed: And of .y. M. ylle women in maner they scaped all. I can not telle for whiche I shulde wepe, eyther for the lacke that we haue
 3700 of the good and vertuous women in our common welth, or elles for the greuous hurte and damage that these ylle and wicked women do to the youthe of Rome. The fyre that brenneth in mounte Ethna dothe not so greatte damage

(*f.62)*mage to them that dwelle in Sycille, as one ylle woman doth in the circuit of Rome. A fierse beaft and a peryllous ³⁷⁰⁵ ennemie to the cōmon welth is an yl woman: for ſhe is of power to do moche harme, and is not apte to folowe any goodneſſe. O how many realmes and kynges rede we of, to be loſte by the yll gouernance of women, and to reſiſte agaynſte them hath ben nede of wyſedom, peryls, money, ³⁷¹⁰ force, and worthines of many men. The vices in a womā is as a grene rede, that boweth euery way: but the libertie and diſhoneſtie is as a drie kix that breaketh: in ſuch wife that the more yll they vtter the more vnlykely is the redreſſe therof agein. Behold Fauſtin there is no creature ³⁷¹⁵ that more deſireth honour, and wors kepeth it than a woman. And that this is true, ſe by Juſtice, by orations, by writynge, and other trauayles manne getteth renowme: but (without it be by flatteryng and fayre ſpeakynge) vn- to this houre, by antike writing we can rede of fewe wo- ³⁷²⁰ men or none, that eyther by writynge, redynge, workinge with nedell, ſpynnyng, or by weuyng hath gotten them any great renowme. But as I ſay of one, I ſay of an other. Certaynly of dyuers we rede, by kepyng them cloſe in their houſes, well occupied in their beſyneſſes, tempe- ³⁷²⁵ rate in their wordes, faythful to their huſbandes, wel ordered in their perſones, peaſible with their neyghbours, and finally beinge honeſte amonge their owne famylye, and ſhamefaſte amonge ſtraungers, ſuche haue attayned great renowme in their lyfe, and leſte eternal memorie of ³⁷³⁰ them after their deth. I woll tel you an antike hitorie as profitable to reſtreyn our vices, as it did than augment vertues, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemoniens (as Plato ſheweth) was at a ſeaſon more diſſolute by the vn- thriftines of women than infamed by the crueltie of men: ³⁷³⁵ ſo that of al maner nations they were called Barbariens.

What

(*f. 62^b) *What tyme Grece as a mother called philosophie of philosophers, Lygurge a wife philosopher in knowlege, and a righte iuste kyng to gouerne, partely with his doctryne
 3840 righte profitable, and partly with his pure lyfe made lawes in the layd realme, wherby he extirped all vices, and planted all vertues. I can not telle whiche of these two were moſte happy, The kyng hauynge ſo obedient people, or els the realme to haue ſo rightfull a kyng. Amōge
 3845 all other lawes for women he made one greatly to be commended: He commanded, that the father that dyed, ſhuld gyue nothing to his doughter. And an other, that neyther lyuinge nor dienge he ſhuld gyue any money to mary her with: to the entent that none ſhulde marye her for her ry-
 3850 ches, but al onely for her goodnes: and not for her beautie, but for her vertues. And where as nowe ſome be vnmarried bycauſe they are poore, ſo then they abode vnmarried bycauſe they were ſhamefull and vicious. O tyme, worthy to be deſired, whan maydens hoped nothyng to
 3855 be married with their fathers goodes, but by the vertuous werkes of their owne perſons. This was the tyme callid the golden worlde: whan neyther the doughter feared to be diſherited by the father in his lyfe, nor the father to die ſorye for leauynge her without remedy at his deathe. O
 3860 Rome curſed be he that firſte brought gold into thy hous: and curſed be he that firſte beganne to hurde vp treaſure. Who hath made Rome to be ſo ryche of treaſure, and ſo pore of vertues? who hath made menne wedde vilaynes doughters, and leaue the doughters of ſenatours vnma-
 3865 rryed? what hath made that the ryche mans doughter is demanded vnwylllyng, 7 the doughter of a pore mā none wylle deſire? what hath cauſed that one maryeth a foole with fyue .C. marke, rather than a wyfe woman with .x. M. vertues? Than I ſaye that in this poynte the fleſhe

van-

(*f.63) *vanquyfheth the fleſhe, and er euer the vanytie of the ma-³⁸⁷⁰
lice therof is vanquyſhed. How cometh it y a couetous p-
ſone wyll ſooner nowe adays haue a wyfe that is ryche 7
foule, than one that is poore and fayre? O unhappy wo-
men that brynge forthe chyldren, and more vnhappy the
doughters that are borne, which to haue them married no³⁸⁷⁵
ſtore is ſet by the bloode of their predeceffours, nor the fa-
uour of their frendes, nor the value of their warkes, nor
the beautie of their perſons, nor the cleannes of their life.
O curſed worlde, where the doughter of a good mā with-
out money ſhall haue no mariage. But it was not wonte³⁸⁸⁰
to be ſo. For in the aunciente tyme, whan they treated of
maryages, fyrſte they ſpake of the perſones, and after of
the goodes: not as they do at this houre, in this vnhap-
py tyme: for nowe they ſpeke firſte of goodes, and laſte of
all of the perſone. In the ſayd golden worlde fyrſte they³⁸⁸⁵
ſpeake of the vertues of the perſon was endowed with, 7
whan they were maryed, in ſportynge they wolde ſpeake
of the goodes. Whan Camilla [sic] triūphed vpon the Gau-
les or frenchemen, he had then but one ſonne, and he was
ſuche one, that his perſon merited greate lawdes. And for³⁸⁹⁰
the renome of his father, dyuers kynges deſyred to haue
him to their ſonne: and dyuers ſenatours deſyred to haue
hym to their ſonne in lawe. This yonge manne beinge of
the age of .xxx. yeres, and the father at .lx. he was impor-
tunately ſtyred by his naturalle frendes, and deſyred of³⁸⁹⁵
ſtrange kynges for to mary hym: but alway the olde Ca-
myll repugned the counſel of his frendes, 7 the importu-
nitie of to ſtrangers. Than it was demaunded, why he
determined not vpon ſome mariage for his ſonne, ſythe
therby ſhulde folowe the reſtefull lyfe of the yonge man,³⁹⁰⁰
and the quietnes of hym ſelfe in his age. He aunſwered:
I wyll not mary my ſonne, bycauſe ſomme offer me ryche
dough-

(*f. 63^b) *doughters, some noble of lygnage, some yonge, and some fayre: but there is none hath sayde to me, I gyue you my
 3905 vertuous doughter. Certaynly Camylle meryted to haue triumph for that he dyd. And he deserued eternall memorie for that he sayd. I say to you Fauistine al these wordis, bycause I se you lede your doughter to the Theatres and playes, and do bringe her in to the Capitoll. you put her
 3910 to the kepinge of the swerde players: you suffre her to se the tounblers, and yet you do not remembre, that she is yonge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes withoute lycence, and play by the ryuers. I fynde no vilany therin nor thynke that your doughter is yl: but I say it bycause
 3915 you gyue occasion, that she shulde not be good. Beleue it Fauistine: neuer trust in the case of the fleshe of yong people. Nor haue no confidence in olde folkes. For there is no better way than to flee the occasion of all thinges. For this entent the virgins vestales are closed vp betwene the
 3920 walles, to eschewe the occasions of open places, not to be more lyght and foolyshe, but to be more sadde and vertuous, fleing occasions. The yong shal not say: I am yōge and vertuous, nor the olde shal not say: I am olde 7 broken. For of necessitie the drie flaxe will brenne in the fire:
 3925 and the grene flagge smoke in the flamme. I saye that a man beinge a diamonde enchaced amonge men, yet of necessitie he ought to be quicke and merye amonge women. And as waxe melteth in the heate, we can not denye, that though the wodde be taken fro the fyre, and the ymbres
 3930 quenched, yet neuer the les the stones oftentime remayne hote and brennyng. In lyke wise the fleshe though it be chaftised with hote 7 drie maladies, or consumed by many yeres with trauayle, yet concupiscence abideth styl in the bones. What nede is it to blasen the vertues, 7 deny our
 3935 naturalities? Certainly there is not so croked a hors, but
 yf he

(*f.64) *if he se a mare he wyl bray ones or twife. There is no mā
 so yonge nor old, but let him se yong damoyfels, eyther he
 wyl giue a sigh or a wishe. In al voluntary thinges I de-
 nie not, but that one may be vertuous: but in natural thin-
 ges I confesse euery man to be weake. Whan ye take the ³⁹⁴⁰
 wood fro the fire, it leueth brennyng: Whā somer cometh
 the colde wynter celfeth: whan the see is caulme the wa-
 wes leaue their vehemente mouynge: whan the sonne is
 sette, it beshyneth not the worlde. I wyl say that than, and
 not before the fleshe wyl cease to peyn vs, whan it is laide ³⁹⁴⁵
 in the graue. Of the fleshe we are borne, and in the fleshe
 we lyue, and in the fleshe we shall dye. And therby it folo-
 weth, that our good lyfe shall sooner ende than our fleshe.
 Oftentymes some holsome fleshe for meate corrupteth in
 an vnholosome potte: and good wyne somtyme sauoureth ³⁹⁵⁰
 of the foiste. I say though that the werkes of our lyfe be
 vertuous: yet shall we fele the stenche of the weake fleshe.
 I say this Faustine sith age can not resiste the hote enter-
 prise, howe can the tender membres of youth resist it? you
 being the moder, without you go the right way, she being ³⁹⁵⁵
 your doughter can not go the same way. The Romaine
 matrons, if they wyl nourishe their doughters wel, ought
 to kepe these rules. Whan they see, that they wolde goo a-
 brode, than breke their legges, and if they wold be gafing,
 than put out their eies, and if they wyl harken, stop their ³⁹⁶⁰
 eares, if they wyl giue or take, cut of their handes: if they
 dare speke, sowe vp their mouthes: and if they wyl entēd
 any lyghtnes, bury them quicke. For deth ought to be gi-
 uen to an yll doughter: and in stede of presentes and gif-
 tis at her wedding, gyue her wormes: and for her hous a ³⁹⁶⁵
 graue. Take hede Faustine if you wyl haue great ioye of
 your doughter, take fro her the occasiōs, wherby she shall
 be ylle. To vnderfette a hous behoueth dyuers proppes:
 And

(*f. 64^b) *And yf the principalles be take awaye, hit wyll falle
 3970 downe. I telle you, womenne are so fraylle, that with
 kepers with great payne they can kepe them selfe: and for
 a small occasion they will lose all to gyther. O howe ma-
 ny yll hath there ben, not bycause they wolde be so, but by
 cause they folowed such occasions, the whiche they ought
 3975 to haue eschewed? It is for me to entre into this battayle,
 but yet it is not in me to attayne the vycorie. It is for me
 to entre into the see, yet it lyeth not in my handis to escape
 the perylle. It is in the handes of a woman to entre into
 the occasion, and after that she is therin, hit is not in her
 3980 handes to delyuer her from faute.

¶ Howe themperour couſayled Fauſtine to eschue
 yll occasions fro her daughter. Cap. xxxvii.



Aradventure Fauſtine ye wyll ſay to me,
 that none may ſpeke to your daughter Lu-
 cille, but yf you here it: nor ſe her but in
 your ſyghte, nor hide her, but you knowe
 3985 where: nor make none appoyntment with
 out your knowlege. And atte this howre
 you knowe not, that they that do hate her, 7 wolde her yl,
 what diſhonour theyr tongues doo ſpeake of her. Newe
 loue in yonge bloudde in the ſpringinge tyme and flouri-
 3990 ſhyng in youth, is a poyſon that forthewith ſpredeth into
 euery vayne: It is an herbe that by and by entreth the en-
 trayles: a ſwownyng that incontinently mortifieth al the
 membres: a peſtilence that fleeth the hartes: and fynally
 it maketh an ende of all vertues. I wote not what I ſay
 3995 yet, al though I knowe what I wyll ſay: For I wold ne-
 uer blaſen loue with my tonge, without I were fore hurte
 in myn vnderſtondyng. Ouyde ſayth in his boke of the
 arte

(*f.65) *arte of loue: Loue is I wotte not what: that cometh I wote not whens, who sent it I wote not: it engendreth I wote not how: it is contented I wote not wherwith: it is felte I wote not howe ofte, nor I wote not wherfore. And fynally loue taketh rote without breakynge of the fleshe outwarde, or percinge the entrayles inwarde. I wote not what Ouide meaneth hereby: but I trowe whan he sayd these wordes, he was as farre banysshed from hym selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O Faustin they that loue together, shewe the signes of their hartis by dyuers ways, and in slepynge they reason and speke: and by signes they vnderstande eche other. The greatte voyce outwarde is sygne of lyttell loue inwarde: and the great inwarde loue kepeth silence outwarde. The entrayles with in imbraced in loue, cause the tonge outward to be muet. He that passeth his lyfe in loue, ought to haue his mouth close. And to the entente that ye shall nat thynke that I speake fables, I wyll proue this by ancient histories.

4015

¶ We fynde aunciently, that in the yere ii. .C. and .lx. after the foundation of Rome, Estrusco a yonge Romayn, that was dombe, and Ueronne a fayre lady of the Latins that, was dombe also, These two sawe eche other on the mount Celyoit at a feast, and there fel in loue eche with other. And their hertes were as soore fixed in loue as their tōges were tied fro wordes: It was a meruaylous thing to se them, and feareful to note here. The yonge lady cam fro Salon to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of .xxx. yeres together, without the witing of any persone, nor they two spake not. Than at the last died the husbande of the lady Uerone, and the wyfe of Estrusco, and than they discouered their loue, and treted a mariage betwene them, of whom descended the noble lygnage of our Scipions: whiche were more lyberalle in the feates

4030

of ar-

(*f. 65^b) *of armes, than their father and mother were in their tongues. Then Fauptyne marke this thyng: Lyttell aduantage it had ben to haue cut out the tonges of the two dōbe folkes, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut
 4035 out their hartis.

¶ Also I shall tell you of Mafiniffa a worthy knyght of Numedie, and Sopharife a famous lady of Carthage, all only by one fight, as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his desire vnto her: and she knowing his lust
 4040 breakynge the oores of feare, and lifynge vp the ankers of shame, incontinent rayfed the sayles of their hartes, 7 with the shippes of their psons they ioyned eche to other. Here may we gather howe the first fight of their eies, and knowlege of their persons, and the leage of their hartis,
 4045 and the mariage of their bodies, 7 the pardicion of their estates, and the infamie of their name, in one daye, in one houre, in one moment, and in one steppe of a ladder were agreed. What wyll ye that I say more to this pourpouse? Do ye not know, that Helayne the Greke, and Parys the
 4050 Troyan, of two strange nations, and of ferre countreis, with one onely fight in a temple, their wylls were so knit to gyther, that he toke her as his captyue, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appered but smal force, and in her but lytell refistence. So that in maner these two yong per
 4055 sons, the one procuring to vanquish, and the other suffering to be [sic] vanquished, Paris was cause of his fathers deathe: and Helayne of the infamie of her husbande, and they bothe of their owne deathes, losse to their realmes, and sclaundre to all the worlde. All this loue caused, one
 4060 onely fyght.

¶ Whan great kyng Alexander wold haue giuē battayle to the Amazons, the quene capitayn of them, no lesse faire than stronge and vertuous, came to a riuer side, and the
 space

(*f.66)*[space of an houre eche of them behelde other with theyr eyes, without speakinge of any word: and whan they returned to their tentes, the fierfnes was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes. 4065

¶ Whan Pyrrhe the faithfull defender of the Tarentynes, and renowmed kynge of Epirotes was in Italye, he camme to Naples, and he had not bene there but one day, the same seafon there was a lady in the same citie named Gamalicice, of a high lygnage, and greatly esteemed in beautie: The very same day she was gotten with childe and shamed through out all Italy, and was thrift out of the citie. And after she was delyuered of chylde, she was flayne by one of her owne bretherne. 4070 4075

¶ Also Cleopatra in the prouynce of Bythynye, in the wod of Sehyn, made a goodly banket or solempne feast to Marcus Anthonig her louer. And though she was not very honest, yet had she with her ryght chast women: and thus the banket endurige a great part of the nyght, and the wod beyng thycke, the yong damfels were not so wily to hyde them, but the yonge men Romainys found them: so that of .lx. daughters of senatours .lv. were gotten with chylde among the thycke busshes: which thyng made a gret scandre in the people, and augmentyd the infamy of Cleopatre, and minished the honestie of Marc Anthony. 4080 4085

¶ Thus as I haue shewed of a smalle nombre, I coude say of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not women. I say it bicause I wolde it shulde be said: lette it touche them that it towche, and lette theym that can, vnderstand me. There be some shyys, y are so lyght, that they will saylle with a lyttell winde: 7 there be some mylles y wyl grinde with a lytel water. I say there be some women so bryttell, that as a glasse, with a fylloppe wyll breke, and wyl flyp with a lytel myre. Shew me Faustin, haue 4090 4095

S. ii.

(*f. 66^b) *haue you suffred your doughter to speke but with her vn-
cles, and kept company but with her cofins? I say in this
case, as moche wileneffe hath the mother as the doughter
4100 to renne in peryll. Do you not knowe, that the quicke fire
doth not forbere the wod be it wete or dry, but in likewyse
it confumeth the harde stones? Do you not knowe, that
the hongre exceffiue caueth beastes to deuour with their
tethe the thyng that was bredde in their entrayles? Do
4105 you not knowe that the goddis made a lawe ouer al thin-
gis except on louers, bycause they may not abyde it? And
doubtleffe it is rightwisely [right w.?] done, that Rome condemneth
not these folyfhe innocentes, bycause they haue none vn-
derstandyng. The goddis giue no peyn to amorous peo-
4110 ple, bycause they are depriued fro reafon. Ye knowe whan
I was censure there was a yong woman that had a child
by her owne father? and an other that had a chylde by her
fonne, and a niece by her propre vncl, and there was sen-
tence gyuen on them, that the fathers shulde be cast to the
4115 lyons, and the chyl dren buried quicke, and the mothers
were brente in the campe of Mars. The mattier was so
horrible to here, that I myght not endure to se the curfed
men. And I commanded by my decrees, that none shulde
be so bolde to speake in fuche a case any more. And if this
4120 case were fearefull to men, than certaynly the Romayne
matrones ought to lyue chafte ly. Than if the fire of the
father doo chaufe the doughter, enflame the kynsfolke,
and burne them selfe: Then take hede, if he fynde after,
eyther coufyn or faire fister, the flames of his cōcupiscēce
4125 wyll not leaue to take holde on her for any parentage. If
this riotous fleshe wyll obey reafon, than it may be, that
your doughter may speake liberally with her coufins: but
sith that paffion repugneth so moche at reafon, I coun-
cel you, trust not to moche in her bretherne. you se by experi-
ence,

(*f.67)*ence, that the worme that is bredde in the tymbre, ea- 4130
 teth the same tymbre: and the mootheres that are bredde in
 the clothe, eateth the same clothe. I say that sommetyme
 a man bringeth vp in his howse some persone, that after
 taketh his lyfe fro hym. Faustyne take this that I haue
 layd for a warnyng, and these last wordis I gyue you for 4135
 counfel. If you wil kepe your selfe fro thought, and your
 doughter fro peryll, alway let your doughter be occupied
 with some good werkes. Whan the handes are occupied
 with any good exercise, than the harte is voyde fro many
 ydell and vayn thoughtes. Euery lightnes done in youth 4140
 breaketh downe a loope of the defence of our lyfe: but y-
 delnesse, wherby our enuye entreth, is it, whiche openeth
 the gate to all vyces. Faustine wyll you wite: I se dayly
 the pardition of the yonge Romaine doughters: For as
 soone as they be borne, they presume to be amorous: they 4145
 as vnthoughtfull, with the rechelesnes of the father, and
 wantonnes of the mother, leue the iust trauayle, and take
 vniust idelnes. Of ydel motions 7 outrageous thoughtis
 the eies take lycēce without leaue, the mynd altereth, and
 the will is hurte: and finally thinkynge to be the whyte, 4150
 that amorous men shote at, they remayne as a butte fulle
 of all vyces. And in conclusion there is nothyng that re-
 chaceth the balle of the thought (in this play) than is the
 hande set a worke therwith.

¶ What thought Marcus the emperour toke for
 the mariage of his doughters. Cap. xxxviii.



Han the good emperour Marc hauynge a clere 4155
 vnderstandynge and a quiete wytte, toke right
 great hede of thinges that were paste, prudent-
 ly waying thinges present, 7 thynges to come.

Seinge

S. iii.

(*f. 67^b) *inge that the pardicion of princis, lay all in wyll, totally
 4160 giuinge them selfe eyther to strange thinges, forgettinge
 their owne, or els to entende to their owne, nothing regar
 dinge strange thinges. His hert was so agreable to him,
 that neyther the high bufynesses of them: nor for all the
 affaires of his house, he wolde not leaue one of thempire
 4165 vnsped. I say this, bycause this emperour Marcus had
 foure daughters, whose names were Lucille, Porfena,
 Matrina, and Domitia. Al resembled their mother in ex
 cellent beautie, but they resembled not their father in ho
 nestie and vertuoufnes. And though they were in gouer
 4170 nance vnder their maystresses out of his presence, yet he
 had them always in memorie: and the elder they were, the
 more study and thought he toke for them: and whan they
 cam to cōplete age, he studied to finde prouision for them.
 It was a laudable custome, that the daughters of the of
 4175 ficers of the Senate, shulde not marye without lycence,
 nor the emperours daughters without the aduysement of
 the senate. Than it was so, that one of the said princefles
 his daughters beinge of age, and of wyll to be married,
 her father feinge her importunitie, to accomplyshe her de
 4180 fire, bycause he was lycke, he sente for Fauptyne, that she
 shulde goo and commune in the senate. The whiche with
 all her power she withstode, bycause that secretly she had
 treated for an other mariage for her daughter. And open
 ly she excused her selfe sayinge that her daughter was to
 4185 yonge and tender of aeye: and as the goddis had gyuen
 age sufficient to the father, so had the daughter of yeres.
 Whan the emperour vnderstode this, he called Fauptyne
 to his bedde side, where as he lay and said: Diuers thin
 ges are dissimuled in particular persons, the leste of them
 4190 is not to be suffred in thē that shuld ensigne al other. The
 prince is neuer well obeyed but if he haue good credence
 amonge

*f.68)*among his people. I say this Fauſtin, bicauſe you do one thinge in ſecrete, and ſay an other openly. Herin fayleth the credence of ſo high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritie of ſo great an empire. If ye ſuppoſe my good deſires be ſiniſter in your hert for the welth of your owne chyldren: howe ſhuld we hope than in any of your good workes for the childrē of ſtrangers? It ſemith to you better to giue your daughter to them that demande her of the mother, and to reſuſe them that the father doth chuſe. Certainly bicauſe ye be a womā, you deſerue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augment your fault. Do you not know that maryages are guided, ſommetyme by fortune, and ſome by vertues and wiſedome. Suche as demande the daughters of the fathers, beleue me, their eies ben more vpon their owne propre vtilitie, than vpon the welth of an other. I knowe well, you brynge forth the chyldren, but the goddis will marie them, ſith they haue endewed them with ſo meruaylous beautie. Do you not knowe, that the beautie of women ſetteth ſtraungers on deſire, and putteth neyghbours in ſuſpection, to gret mē it gyueth force, to meane men enuie, to the parentis infamie, and peryll to the perſon ſelfe? with great payne it is kepte that is deſired of many. Of trouth I ſay the beautie of women is nothyng but a ſigne for ydell folke: and an erly wakyng for them that be lyght: where as of the ſtrange deſires lyeth the renome of them ſelf. And I deny not, but that a light perſon ſerchith ſoner a woman with a faire face, thā one of honeſt lyuing. But I ſay, that a woman, that is married only for her beaute, maye hope in her aage to haue a ſorie lyfe. It is an infallible reule, that ſhe that was married for her faireneſſe, is hated for her fowlenes. O what trauaile he offreth him ſelfe vnto, that marieth a faire woman? It behoueth hym to ſuffre her pryde,
for

(*f. 68^b) 4225 *for beautie and foly alway gothe to gyther: also he muste
 suffre her expêces. For foly in the heed, and beautie in the
 face bene two wormes that frete the lyfe and wasteth the
 goodes: also he must suffre her riottes. For a faire womā
 wyll that none but she haue her commandementes in the
 4230 houle: also he must suffre her nice mynionnesse: for euery
 faire woman wyll passe her lyfe in pleasure: also he muste
 suffre her presumption: For euery fayre woman wyl haue
 preeminence before all other. Fynallye he that maryeth
 with a faire woman, appareyleth hym to a right great ad
 4235 uenture: 7 I shall telle you wherfore. Surely Carthage
 was neuer so enuirōned with Scipiōs, as the houle of a
 fayre woman is with lyghte perfons. O vnhappy hufbād
 whan his spirit is at rest, and the body sleping, than these
 lyght perfons wyl come about his houle, drieng his body
 4240 with ieloufy, castyng their eies to the wyndowes, scaling
 the walles with ladders or climming ouer, fynging swete
 songes, playeng on dyuers instrumêtes, watchyng at the
 gatis, treating with bandes, vncoueryng y^e houle, 7 wai-
 ting at euery corner therof. All these thinges, in case they
 4245 shote at the pricke of the womans beautie, they leue not to
 shote at the butte of the forowfull hufbandes good name.
 And whether this be true or not, report me to my self, that
 married me with your beautie: and let them wyte of my re-
 noume that go so about the citie. I say moche, but truly
 4250 I fele more. No man complayneth of the goddes for gy-
 uynge hym a foule wyfe, amonge his destenyces. Whyte
 fyluer is not wroughte but in blacke pytche: and the ten-
 der tre is not conferued but by the harde rynde. I say the
 man that marieth a foule wyfe, leadeth a sure lyfe: let eue-
 4255 ry man chuse as he lysteth: and I say a man that marieth
 a faire wife, casteth his good fame at hafard, and putteth
 his lyfe in peril. Al the infamie of our predeceffours stode

in

(*f.69)*in none exerceyfyng of dedes of armes: and nowe all the pastime of the Romaine youth is to serue ladies. Whan a woman is famed to be fayre, than euery man gothe thither, and taketh great payne to serue her, and the women woll be sene. I saye Fauftine, you neuer sawe a yonge damoyfel Romaine, greatly renoumed in beautie, but either in dede or in suspection there folowed fom yl name of her. In that lyttell that I haue redde, I haue harde of dyuers fayre women, bothe of grece, Italy, Parthe, and Rome: and they be not put in remembraunce, bycause they were fayre, but for the greatte perylles and heuy chaunces that by theyr beauties felle in the worlde. For in maner by reason of their excellente beauties they were vyfited in theyr owne landes: and by their infamy shamed throughe all the worlde.

¶ Whan the realme of Carthage was flourysshynge in ryches and happy in armes, they ruled the common welth by wyse philosophers, and susteyned it by dyscrete armies on the see. Arminius the philosopher was as greatly esteemed amonge them, as Homer amonge the grekes, or Cicero amonge the Romaines: he lyued in this worlde fyxe score yeres and .ii. Of the whiche happy age .lxxx. yeres he ruled quietly as a baron moste peasible of mynd: and was as straunge to women, as familiar with his bokes. Than the senate feinge he was so broken with the cōmon welthe, and withdrawen from all naturalle recreations, they desired hym with greate instaunce to be married, bycause that memory myght be had of so perfytte a wyse man in tyme to come: and the more importunate they were, the more he resisted, and sayd, I wyll not be married: for if she be foule, I shall abhorre her: yf she be ryche, I muste suffre her: yf she be poore, I must maynteyn her: if she be faire, I must take hede to her: if she be a shrew, I canne not suffre her: and

(*f. 69^b) *and the leaſte peſtylence of all theſe, is ſuffycient to flee a
 M. men. With ſuche wordes this wyſe man excuſed hym
 ſelfe: and he in his aege, by reaſon of his great ſtudy, loſt
 his ſight. And the ſolytarines of his ſwete lyberties con-
 4295 ſtrayned hym to take company of a womā, and ſhe had by
 him a doughter, of whom deſcended the noble Amilcares
 of Carthage, cōpetitours of the Scipions of Rome, the
 whiche ſhewed no leſſe worthynneſſe in deſēce of Carthage,
 than ours were fortunate to augment Rome.


4300 ¶ Tell me Fauſtine, may not ſuche ſuſpection fall vppon
 your doughters, though their vertue ſuccour in the peryl,
 and their honeſtie aſſure their perſons? I wyll diſcouer a
 ſecrete thyng to you. There is nothyng, that can be ſoo
 quykely commytted, yf a womanne be enuyronned with
 4305 chaſt keepers and feminine ſhamefaſtnes. Stedfaſtly they
 deſire, and with great leysure they procure theſe thynges,
 that lyghtly may be atteyned. There is nothyng ſoo cer-
 tayne, but that the welth of an other is matter for the own
 euyll. And Fauſtine ye knowe, that the mooſt honeſt wo-
 4310 mienne, by our malyce are moſt deſyred. Certaynely theyr
 ſhamefaſtnes and kepyng cloſe, ben arowes in defence of
 our honeſtie. We rede not that bludde, ryches, nor beautie
 of the vnhappy matrone Lucrece was the cauſe, that ſhe
 was deſired: But the olerenes of her viſage, the grautie of
 4315 her perſon, the pureneſſe of her lyfe, the kepyng of hyr ſelfe
 cloſe in her howſe, the exerceytie of her tyme, the credence
 amonge her neyghbours, and the great renoume that ſhe
 hadde amonge ſtraungers, waked the foolyſhe Tarquine
 to commytte with her aduoultrye by force. What thynke
 4320 you? Wherof came this? I ſhall ſhewe you. We that be
 yll, are ſo yll, that as yll we uſe the goodnes of them that
 be good. This is no faute to the ladyes of Rome, but ra-
 ther in the immortal goddis. Their cleane honeſtie accu-
 ſeth

(*f.70)*feth our cruel malyce. Faustin, you say your doughter is to yonge to be maried: Do you not knowe, that the good ⁴³²⁵ father ought to endoctrine his sonnes fro their yong age? and to prouide for his doughters whiles they be yonge. Of a trouthe if the fathers be fathers, and the mothers moders, as soone as goddis haue gyuen them a doughter, forthwith they oughte to fyxe in their hartis a newe ⁴³³⁰ remembrance: and not forget it, tyll they haue prouyded their doughter an hufbād. The fathers ought not to tary for ryches, nor the mothers for high lygnage the better to marie them: So what with the one 7 the other, the tyme passeth, and the doughters waxe aeged: and than after ⁴³³⁵ this maner they be to olde to be maried: and to abyde alone, they be maydens: and to serue they be women, they lyue in payne, the fathers in thought, the parentes in suspexion, that they shuld be lost. O what gret ladies haue I knowen doughters of gret fenatours, and not for fault ⁴³⁴⁰ of ryches, nor of vertues in their persons, but all only for flacke of tyme, and driuinge of one houre to an other, so that at laste sodeyn dethe came to the fathers, and no prouidence made for the doughters: So that in maner some were couered vnder the erthe after their deathe, and some ⁴³⁴⁵ buried with forgetfulnes. Eyther I lye, or I haue redde in the lawe of the Rodiens, where as it is written: we cōmande the father in marienge .x. sonnes to trauaylle but one day: but to marie one vertuous doughter lette hym trauayle. .x. yeres, ye 7 suffre the water come to the mouth, ⁴³⁵⁰ sweate droppes of blood, trauayle the stomake, disherite all his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduenture his person. These wordis in this law were piteful for the doughters, 7 not lesse greuous [sic] to the sonnes. For .x. sonnes by ȝ lawe of men ar bound to discouer, 7 to go ouer al the world: but ⁴³⁵⁵ ȝ doughter, by ȝ good law ought not to go out of ȝ hous.

I say

(*f. 70^b) *I say more ouer, that as thinges vnstable threte fallng,
 so lykewise it chaunceth to yonge damselles, whiche thin-
 keth all their time lost and superfluous vnto the daye of
 4360 their mariage. Homere saith, it was the custome of ladies
 of Grece to count the yeres of their lyfe, not fro the tyme
 of their byrthe, but fro the tyme of their mariage. As if
 one demaunded of a Grecian her age, she wolde answere
 .xx. yeres, if it were .xx. yere sith she was married: though
 4365 it were .xl. yeres sith she was borne: Affirming after they
 had a houle to gouerne and to commaunde, that daye she
 begynneth to lyue. The Melon after it is ripe, and aby-
 deth styll in the gardeyn, can not scape, but eyther rotteth,
 or elles must be gathered. I saye the mayden that tarieth
 4370 longe, tyll she be married, can not escape, eyther to be takē
 or infamed. I will saye no more. As soone as the grapes
 be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessa-
 rie, that the woman that is come to perfite age be married
 and kepte. And the father, that dothe this, casteth perylle
 4375 out of his houle, and bringeth him selfe out of thoughte,
 and contenteth well his doughter.

¶ Of a syckenes, wherof themperour died, of his
 age, and where he died. Cap. xxxix.

 Arcus the Emperour beinge olde, not onely
 by age, but by trauaile and great peines that
 he had taken and suffred in warres: In the
 4380 xviii. yere of his empire, and .lxii. yere of his
 age, and of the foundation of Rome .vi. C.
 and .xl. as he was in Panony nowe called Hongarie, with
 his hoste and Commode his sonne, at a citie called Uen-
 debone, situate vpon a riuer, that had .iiii. M. fire [=fair] houfes:
 4385 and beinge in wynter, and the waters great, 7 very weate
 wether

(*f.71)*wether, he beinge in the feldes about the .xxx. day of December: Sodainly vpon a nyght as he went with lanternes about his campe, there toke hym a fyckenes or palsey in one of his armes, so that he coude not welde his speare nor yet drawe his swerde, nor put on his owne clothes. 4390
 Than this good emperour charged with yeres, and with no lesse thoughtes, and wynter increafynge with manye great snowes, and frefynge of the erthe, there fell on him an other malady called Lytarge, the whiche put the Barbariens in great hardynes, and his hofte in great heuy- 4395
 nes, his person in peryl, and his frendes in great suspect of his helthe. There was done to hym all the experience that coude be founde by medicines, as vnto great princis and lordes is accustomed. And all dyd him no profite: by reason the maladye was greuous, and themperour charged 4400
 with yeres, and the ayre of the lande was contrarie to hym, and the tyme helped him nothinge: and also he was not well intended. And as men of worshyppe do setteth more by their honour than by their lyues, and had rather dye with honour, than lyue dyshonoured, to assure theyr 4405
 honour, they aduenture euery houre their lyues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, than a .C. yeres of life: So thus this sicke emperour caused him selfe to be borne all about his campe, and went to see the scarmishes, and wold slepe in the feldes: the which was not without great 4410
 peryll of his lyfe, nor without great trauayle of his persone. Thus on a day the emperour being in a great feuer and letten bloudde, herde a great clamour or noyse in the feld: made by his men that had brought home great quantitie of fourage, and their ennemies sette on them to refuse it, there was medlynge on bothe parties, the one to beare away, and the other to defende: The Romainys for 4415
 hungre, dyd what they coude to beare it awaye: And the

Hun-

(*f. 71^b) *Hungariens fro whense it came, made refyftence: They
 4420 medled fo one with an other, and their debate was fo cru-
 ell, that there was flayne .v. capitayns of the Romayns,
 the worft of them was more worth than all their fourage
 that they had won. And of the Hungariens were fo many
 flayne, that al the fourage that they had loft, was not fo
 4425 moche worth. Certainly confidering the crueltie that was
 there done, the profite that came therby was very smalle
 to the Romaynes, fo that there went but a few away with
 the fourage, 7 of the Hungariens fewer was left to make
 refyftence. The emperour feinge the yl order, and that by
 4430 the reafon of his bloudde lettynge and feuer, he was not
 prefent at that acte, he toke fuche a heuynes at his harte,
 wherby he fell into fuche a traunce, that it was thoughte
 he had ben deade: and fo he lay .iii. nyghtis and two days
 that he coude fe no lyght of the fkye, nor fpeke to any per-
 4435 fone. The heate of his lickenes was greate, and his pey-
 nes greater, he dranke moche and eate lyttelle, he coude
 not flepe, his face was yelow, and his mouthe blacke.
 Somtime he lifted vp his eies, 7 oftētymes ioyned his
 handes to gether: He fpake nothinge, and fighed many
 4440 tymes. His throte was fo drie, that he coude not fpytte:
 his eyes were very foore with lobbynge and wepynge.
 It was greatte compaffyon to fee his dethe: and a great
 plage of confufyon to his howfe, and alfo the very great
 loffe of his warre. There durfte no manne loke vppon
 4445 hym, and fewer fpeake to hym. Panutius his Secre-
 tarie, forowynge at his harte, to fee his mayfter fo nere
 his dethe, on a nyght in the prefence of dyuers other that
 were there he fayd to him.

¶ The wordes of Panutius fecretarie to thempe-
 rour at the houre of his death. Cap. xl.

O Mar-

(*f. 72)*



Marcus my lorde, there is no tongue that can be styll, nor any hert suffre, nor eies diffimule, ⁴⁴⁵⁰ nor wytte that can permytte it: My bloudde congeleth, and my finewes drie, the stones openethe, and my fowle wolde passe forthe: the ioyntes vnioyne a sonder, and my spiritis are troubled, bycause you take not the wise and sage counsaile, the whiche ye gaue to other that were symple. I see you my lorde die, and I ought to be soore displeased therwith. The sorowe that I fele at my hert is, how you haue lyued lyke a wise persone, and at this houre you do lyke a simple man. Tenne yere a knight giueth mete to his hors, to thentent ⁴⁴⁵⁵ that he shoulde kepe him fro peryll: and all that the wyse man studieth for a longe season, oughte to be to passe his lyfe with honour, and to take the deth with great vertue. Right dere lorde I demande of you: what proufite is it to the maryuer to knowe the carde of the see, and after to ⁴⁴⁶⁰ peryshe in a tourment or tempeste? what prouffyte is hit to a capitayne to speake moche of warre, and after know not howe to gyue battaylle? whatte proufyteth hit to a knyght to haue a good hors, and to falle in the strete? what profiteth it to teche an other the plain way, and him ⁴⁴⁷⁰ selfe to wander aside? I say what profyted hit the force of your lyfe, that you esteemed so lyttell your lyfe, many tymes sekynge your deathe? And at this howre that you haue founde deathe, you wepe bycause it wyll take away your lyfe? Whatte thnges [sic] haue I wrytten with myne ⁴⁴⁷⁵ hande beinge your Secretarie, dyned by your hyghe and profounde vnderstandynge, towchyng the stroke of deathe? what thyng was it to see the letter, that you sent Claudine vpon the dethe of her husbände? what wrote you to Anthygone, whan your sonne Uerissimus dyed? ⁴⁴⁸⁰ wherin your vertue dydde confolate his heuynesse. what hygh

(*f. 72^b) *hygh thinges dyd I write in the boke that you sent to the Senate in the yere of the great pestilence: comfortynge them after the great mortalitie passed: wherin you dydde
 4485 shewe them howe lyttell men shulde set by deathe, 7 what profite foloweth therby. And I haue sene and herde you blason dethe in your lyfe, and nowe you wepe, as though you shuld lyue here styll. Syth that the goddis commāde it, and your age requireth it, 7 your sickenes is the cause,
 4495 and nature permitteth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and is the fatall destenie of vs all, than you must nedes dye. The trauayles that come of necessitie, ought with a good courage to be abyden. For the couragious feeleth not so fore the harde strokes, as the weake that falleth or he be
 4495 foughten with. you are but one man, and nat two: and ye ought to haue one deathe and not two. Therefore why wolde ye for one lyfe haue two dethes, enterrynge the body, and sleinge the spirite with fighes? After so many perilles of longe lyfe to take a sure porte, wyl ye lyfte vp the
 4500 sayles, and entre ageyne into the swalowe of the see, for to engloutte you? In the see you haue chased the bulle and scaped his woodnes, and nowe ye refuse to entre into the parke, where you may surely flee him. You make affaute with victorie of your lyfe, and wyl die attayning the deth.
 4505 you haue fought .lxii. yeres in the campe of miserie, and nowe you feare to entre into your sepulchre: you haue got out of the buffhes and thornes, wherin you were closed: and nowe at this howre you stamble in the faire way: you haue had in certayne the damage of your lyfe, and nowe
 4510 ye put in doubte the proufite of your deathe: you are entred into the campe of defienge of the worlde: and nowe you wolde turne your backe, whan it is tyme to put your handes to armes. Lxii. yere you haue fought agaynste fortune: and nowe you close your eyes, bycause fortune wylle

(*f.73)*wyl strike you. I say it bycause that wyllingly you refuse ⁴⁵¹⁵
 this present dethe, the whiche wyll cause vs to haue your
 lyfe passed suspect. What do you hye and myghty prince?
 Why wepe you lyke a childe? 7 why sygh you as one in di-
 spaire? if you wepe bicause ye shal die, why did you laugh
 so moche in your lyfe tyme? For of moche laughyng in ⁴⁵²⁰
 the lyfe tyme cometh moche wepinge at the deth. Wyl you
 do that you can not do? and not be content with that you
 may do: The grounde and pasture that is common, you
 wolde ioyn to your owne, the renowme of the common
 welthe you applyed to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy ⁴⁵²⁵
 or lone you wolde make your perpetuall righte. I wyll
 shewe you who be deed. All be deed and shall dye. And a-
 monge all other you wolde all onely lyue. Wyl ye haue
 that of the goddis that they be goddis for? That is by-
 cause you are mortall, that they make you immortal. And ⁴⁵³⁰
 that you haue for priuilege, whiche they haue by nature?
 I that am but simple, demaunde one thyng of you my
 lorde, that are auncient and wyse: whiche is the greatest
 or least welthe, to dye well or lyue yll? To lyue welle no
 man can attayne certaynly, for hungre, thirst, solitarines, ⁴⁵³⁵
 persecucion, yl fortune, sycknesses, and diffauours. This
 can be called no lyfe, but rather deth. If an ancient man
 wolde make a shewe and booste of his lyfe, fro the tyme
 of his birthe to the layinge in his graue, and the body
 to shew all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the harte ⁴⁵⁴⁰
 to discouer all the strokes of fortune: I imagin that the
 goddis wolde haue meruaylle therof, and men wolde be
 abashed therof, that the body coude suffre so moche, and
 the herte beare it. I hold the grekes wisest, for they wepe
 whan their childerne are borne, and they synge whan an ⁴⁵⁴⁵
 olde man dyeth: but the Romainys synge at the byrthe of
 their chyl dren, and wepe whan they dye olde. Certaynly
 to

(*f. 73^b) *to laugh at the deth of them that die olde, fith they dye to laugh: and to wepe at the birth of children, fith they are borne to wepe, and that lyfe abydeth the sentence of ylle: 4550 than it approueth that the dethe is good. Wyll you that I faye one veritie to you, I haue alwayes fene, that the couñfel in the wyfeste mā foneft faileth him. Such as wold gouerne al thinges by their opinions, of necessitie in some 4555 or in the moſte parte they do erre and fayle. O Marc my deere lorde, wene you, that haue cauſed to burye ſo many, that ſome ſhulde not burye you in lykewyſe [lykew.??] As you haue fene the ende of their dayes, other ſhal ſe the ende of your yeres. Therefore me ſemeth it were better for you to 4560 dye, and to go your way to attayne ſo moche welth, than to ſcape and to lyue in ſo moche myſerie. If you fele deth, I haue no meruayle fyth you are a man. But I meruayle that you do not diffimule hit, fith you are diſcrete. They that haue clere vnderſtandyng fele many thinges at their 4565 herte, that putteth them to payne, whiche they ſhewe not outwarde, for the preſumption of honour. If al the poyſon that is in a heuy harte were ſprede abroad in the weke fleſhe by ſmalle greynes, no walles ſhulde ſuffyſe vs to rubbe, nor our nayles to ſcratche. For certaynly the dethe 4570 is but a play, wherin the player, if he be apt, aduentureth but lyttell to wyne moche, and they that play may ſe wel that this is a wily play, and not of ſtrength. And that alſo as well they leſe that haue but a ſmalle carde, not fearynge deathe, as they that with a great carde loueth long 4575 lyfe? [sic] What thinge is dethe but a trappe dore, wherin the tent is cloſed, in the whiche is ſolde al the miſeries of our lyfe? Thus the goddis do change vs from an olde fylthy houſe into a newe. And what other thing is the ſepulchre, but a caſtelle, wherin we be cloſed againſt the aſſautes of 4580 the lyfe. Of trouth you ought more to couete to take that
you

(*f.74)*finde at your deth, than the hurt of that you shall leaue in your lyfe. I demand of you, what is it that doth you most peyne in lesynge of the life? if you peine your selfe for Helie Fabrice your wife, bycause you leaue her yonge. werye not your selfe, for she is wel thought on in Rome, for any ⁴⁵⁸⁵ peryll of your lyfe. And as sone as she knoweth it, I am in certayne she wyll not wepe moche, though you go your way. Thā you ought not to wepe, for leuing of her. These yonge damoyfels married to old men, haue euer their eies fixed in the deth of their husbandis. And holly fasten their ⁴⁵⁹⁰ hartes on him that they thinke to mary with agein. They wepe with their eies, 7 be glad in their hartes. And truste not though she be an empreffe, and can not fynde an other emperour to be her husbande, yet she wil finde som other. For if they be so determined, they wyll chāge their robes ⁴⁵⁹⁵ of satyn for a gowne of cloth. For I dare welle saye, they more desire a yōge sheparde, than an olde emperour. And you care for your children, whom ye must leaue behynd you: I can not tel why you shulde do so. For if your deth be displeasent to them, moch more displeaseth them ȳ you ⁴⁶⁰⁰ lyue so long. It is great peyn to a child, without he desire the dethe of his father, if he be pore than it is for fere how they shuld be maynteyned: if he be ryche, than bicause he shall be his heire. They singe and you wepe: you fere the deth 7 wepe bicause you leue your life. Do you not know, ⁴⁶⁰⁵ that after the nyght cometh the dewy mornynge: 7 after ȳ comith the bright son: 7 after the son cometh a derk cloude and after again cometh faire wether, 7 after that cometh lightnyng 7 thonder: 7 then agein clere aire? Also I say, that after infancy cometh childhode, thā cometh youthe, 7 ⁴⁶¹⁰ age after that, and so at last cometh dethe, and after dethe fearefull hope of a sure lyfe. Sir beleue me in one thinge: The beginninge, the meane, and the ende euery mā hath.

Cer-

U. ii.

(*f. 74^b) *Certainly if you had ben takē as the floure fro the herbe:

4615 if you had ben cut grene fro the tree, if you had ben graf-
fed in primetime: if you had ben eaten in the fowrenes of
the vyne: I meane if in the firste youthe, whan lyfe was
at the sweteste, if dethe had come and knocked at the gate,
ye shulde haue had cause to be sorie: but as now the wal-
4620 les are weake, and redy to fall, and the flowre wythered,
and the berie putrified, the speare fulle of mosse, and can
not drwae[sic] the knife out of the shethe: Herin you haue de-
sired the worlde, as if you had neuer knowen the worlde.
Lxii. yere you haue ben prisoner in the dongeon of the bo-
4625 dy: and now the shakils or giues shulde be taken frome
you, you complayne: you lorde wold make newe of other
newes. He that thinketh it not sufficiente to lyue .lxii. ye-
res in this dethe, or to dye in this lyfe, he wyll not be con-
tent with thre score thousande.

4630 ¶ Auguste the emperour sayde, that after that men had
lyued .l. yeres, they ought to die, or elles cause them to be
slayne, bycause that vnto that tyme is the felicitie of mā.
All that euer one lyueth beyonde y tyme, the pore old mā
passeth his tyme in heuines, in greuouse aches, deth of his
4635 children, 7 losse of his goodes, in importunities of his chil-
derne in lawe, burienge of his frendes, lusteyninge pro-
cesse, payinge of dettis, and other infinite trauailes: So
that it were better with his eies closed to abyde theym in
his graue, than with his eien open to abyde theym in his
4640 lyfe dayes. Certaynly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and
he is right priuie with the goddis, that at .l. yere leaueth
his lyfe. For al the time that he liueth after is in decaying
and neuer vpryght, but rollynge, relyng, and redy to fall.
O Marc my dere lorde do you not know, that by the same
4645 way that lyfe gothe, cometh dethe? It is .lxii. yere that ye
haue soughte the one from the other. And whan ye wente
fro

(*f.75)*fro Rome, where as you left your house, and went to Il-
 liriike, where you leste a greate pestilence: and nowe you
 are retourned into Hungarie. Do you not knowe, that as
 soone as you were borne to gouerne the erthe, incontînēt ⁴⁶⁵⁰
 dethe issued out of his sepulchre to fynde your lyfe? And
 if you haue honoured ambassadours of the straunge kin-
 ges, moche more ye ought to honour deathe, that cometh
 fro the goddis: what lordeship can be lost in this lyfe, but
 you shall finde greatter in the deathe? Are you not remē- ⁴⁶⁵⁵
 bred whā Uulcan my sonne in lawe poysoned me, bicause
 he desired my goodes more than my lyfe. Thanne you my
 lorde for loue that you had to me, gaue me comforte and
 counsell, for the deth of my sorowful youth: and you said
 to me, the goddis were cruell in killynge of them that be ⁴⁶⁶⁰
 yonge: and pitiefull, whan they burie them that be olde.
 And also you sayde to me: Comforte thy selfe Panutius:
 For if thou dydst lyue to dye, now than thou diest to lyue.
 Therefore right high and myghty prince, I say to you, as
 you sayde to me: and I counsell you as you counsayled ⁴⁶⁶⁵
 me: and that you gaue me, I gyue you agayne. Finally
 of this repinge take the best in worth, 7 let the rest abide.

¶ Howe the emperour demanded to haue in writinge
 all that the Secretarie had sayde. Cap. .xli.



And as of the contentynge of the wylle often-
 tymes procedeth helthe and ease of the bodye,
 the emperour was wel satisfied with the wor- ⁴⁶⁷⁰
 des of Panutius, whiche he eloquently vtte-
 red, and with profounde counsell, hardily and
 familiarly, and in due tyme, as a good frende. Great cō-
 passion it is to them that wold die, whā it is shewed them
 what they ought to do. For of them that be about the bed, ⁴⁶⁷⁵
 some

¶ (*f. 75^b) *fomme robbe him of his money, fomme ferue nim well,
 fome holde the place to be his heire, fomme gapyng for
 giftes, fomme wepe for losse of him, fomme also laugh for
 the gaynes by his deathe, and fo in this maner the poore
 4680 pacient hauynge many lokinge for their profyte, hath no
 body to counsell him. we fe daily that feruantes whā they
 fe the going out of the cādel of lyfe, care not for the clēfing
 of their lordes vices. And therof cometh, that as fone as
 he is deed, ftreight way beginneth to ftinke. And fo I fay
 4685 that the ende of his lyfe is the beginninge of his infamy.
 All they that were there, as well the olde feruantes as the
 newe, belonginge to themperour, capitayns of warre and
 other, were not a lyttell abafhed of the fayenge of Panu-
 tius, and they all allowed his fayenge, and faide he was
 4690 worthy to haue the gouernaunce of thempire. The good
 emperour all the feafon that Panutius fpake, wept with
 depe fighes fro his herte. And bycaufe he was fo fore gre-
 ued, he coude not forthwith giue him an anfwere: At the
 laft he commanded Panutius to gyue him in writinge all
 4695 that he had fayde, to thentent that he myght ftudy theron.
 For he faid, it was no reſon, to forget thinges ſo well ſaid.
 So al the reſt of that nyght the Secretarie occupied him
 ſelfe to put in writinge the ſame ſayinge: and the next day
 he delyuered it to themperour, whiche toke it and loked
 4700 theron all the day: and kept it ſtyl in his handis, and oftē
 times redde theron, And the next nyght themperour ſente
 for the Secretarie, 7 in open audiēce he ſaid as ſoloweth.

¶ The anfwere of themperour to Panutig. Ca. xlii.

HAppy was the mylke that thou ſuckedſt in Dacie, 7
 the bread that dyddeſt eate at Rome, and the lernyng
 4705 that thou haddeſt in Athenes, and thy bringyng vp in my
 hous.

(*f. 76) *hous. For in my life thou hafte wel ferued me, and at my dethe thou hafte well counfayled me. I commande Commodus my sonne to rewarde the for thy good seruice. And I pray the goddis to recompence the for thy counsel. The reward for diuers seruices a mā may make: but *ȝ* rewarde⁴⁷¹⁰ for good counfel al the goddis had nede to do. The gretift reward that one frende may do to an other, is in a great 7 weightie matter to succour him with good counsell. Al *ȝ* trauailes of the worlde are weightie, but the trauayle of dethe is the weightiest: all be perillous, but that is mosfe⁴⁷¹⁵ perillous: all ben great, but this is the gretest: al thingis hath an ende at last by deth, saufe only deth, whose ende is vnknowē. He that is hurt with deth, is as he *ȝ* is sicke of the sleping euill, hauing a quicke vnderftonding, 7 yet he knoweth no man, 7 many thinges beinge offered to him,⁴⁷²⁰ he can determine vpon none. yet againe I say, he is a true and faithfull frende, that in suche time wil giue good counsell to his frende. Al they that here this that I say, wil say that it is true. But I sweare that no man can knowe hit perfutely, but he that is in case that I am in, redy to dye.⁴⁷²⁵ Lxii. yere hath ben the cours of my lyfe, and nowe deathe commaundeth me to close myn eies, 7 to folowe the cours of deth. Moreouer as thou knowest not the infirmitie, so thou approcheft not to the cure and helthe. The dolour is not there as thou hast made defensiues, it is not the fistu-⁴⁷³⁰ la where against thou hast giuen cautere, it is not ageinst opilations that thou hast giuen siropes, it is not in *ȝ* veynes *ȝ* thou hast giuen me incision: Thou hast not wel heled the wounde that thou hast stiched me. I say that thou must entre further in me to knowe perfutely myne accesfe.⁴⁷³⁵ The fighes that procede fro the botom of my hert can not be vnderstanden with heringe of them: the goddis alonly know *ȝ* thoughtis of *ȝ* hart. Also diuers thingis are in me
that

(*f. 76^b) *that I knowe not of my selfe, no more than that is with-
 4740 out me. O Panutius thou accusest me that I feare dethe.
 To feare it greatly, I deny it: but I confesse to feare it as
 a man. Certaynly to denie that I feare nat dethe, than I
 muste denye that I am not made of fleshe. We se that the
 Olyphant feareth the lyon, and the beare feareth the oly-
 4745 phant, and the wolfe feareth the beare, and the shepe fea-
 rethe the wolfe, and the ratte the catte, and the catte the
 dogge, and the dogge the man, and all onely their feare
 is, that they drede to be slayne. Than if these brute bestis
 refuse dethe, not fearinge the fyghtyng with furious spi-
 4750 rites, nor the enioyenge with the goddis: howe moche ra-
 ther than ought we to feare the dethe. For we are in doute
 to be torne in pieces with the furies in their peynes, or to
 be receyued in pleasure with the goddis. Therefore I say,
 that of naturall feare of deathe, I haue ouercome with
 4755 the bridell and lyberties of reason. Thinkest thou Panu-
 tius, that I se not my grasse wasted, and my grapes ga-
 thered, that my houle breaketh, and that I haue nothing
 lefte but the stocke of the grapes, the skinne of the fleshe,
 and but one onely blasfe of all my lyfe. Thou seest welle
 4760 that by the tokens the exercise is sene. And nettes be caste
 in the riuers, and in the parkes bulles ben chafed. I do
 say that the rumour of deth holdith in sauetic the lyfe that
 is in me, at this houre redy armed ageinst dethe. I make
 battayle with deathe, at this houre baraine and naked of
 4765 lyfe: and so redy to entre into the sepulchre: at this houre
 I shall entre into the campe, where as I shall not be go-
 red with bulles, but shall be eaten with wormes: and fy-
 nally I shall go fro whens I can not flee. Thus I hope
 abydinge dethe. And this I say bycause you shall knowe
 4770 that I knowe it, and that thou shalt fele that I fele. And
 to the entent thou lyue vnbegiled I will tell the a secrete.
 The

(*f. 77. *secrete. The nouelties that thou hast sene in me, as in abhorringe of meate, bereuyng of slepe, leuyng alone, we-rynes of company, drownynge in fighes, and pastyme in wepyng: Thou mayst well thinke, what turment ought ⁴⁷⁷⁵ to be in the see of my harte, whan suche tremblynges and motions of erthe and reynes are set in the erthe of my body. Shal I shew y, wherfore my body is in this thought, and my herte in suche trouble? The cause why I suffre dethe so greuoufely, is that I leaue my sonne Commode ⁴⁷⁸⁰ in this lyfe in a perillous age for him, and suspecious for thempire. By the floures the fruites are knowen, and the vines in burgenyng: by the colt the hors is knowen, whether he shall be meke or stubborne for labour or cariage: 7 in the youthe the yonge man is knowen: and by the lytell ⁴⁷⁸⁵ that I se in my lyfe by my sonne Commode, I feare me it wyll be lesse after my deth. Thou knowest not why I say thus. And I say it not without cause: for my sonne Commode is very yonge, and yet yonger in wytte. He is of an yll inclination, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym selfe ⁴⁷⁹⁰ by his owne wytte and vnderstādyng, as though he were a man of experience: he knoweth but lyttelle, and careth for nothyng. Of the tyme passed he hath no knowlege: all onely he occupieth hym selfe with the tyme present: Finally by that I se with myn eies, and thinke in my herte, ⁴⁷⁹⁵ I feare me the persone of my sonne shall be in peryll, and the memorie of his fathers house perysshe. Fauptyne his mother hath foltred hym to delycatly: and by a harde stony grounde he hath a great way to go. He entreth as now alone into the pathe of youth without any guyde. I fere ⁴⁸⁰⁰ me he shall go out of the right waye, and wander in the bushes and thornes of vices. O Panutius harken what I say, I say it not without teares: thou seest that my son remayneth riche, yonge, and at libertie. Ryches, youthe, folyta-

(*f. 77^b) 4805 *folitarines, and libertie ben .iiii. pestilences, that enpoysoneth the prince, and waste the common welth: it fleeth them that be alyue, 7 infameth them that be deed. Beleue me one thinge: dyuers graces are requisite to susteyn diuers vertues. With the fairest women the brothel houses
 4810 are peopled, the mooste vilaynes are made ruffiens: the mooste hardye are robbers in woddes: the quickest of vnderstandynge ofte proue fooles: and the mooste subtylle becom theues. I say that such as are clothed with dyuers graces of nature, lacke the furies of acquired vertues.
 4815 We may say, they hold in their hādes a knyfe, wherwith they stryke and hurte them selfe: fire on their shoulders, wherwith they bren: and a corde about their necke, wherwith they hange: daggers at their stomacke, wherwith they are flayne: thornes at their feete, wherwith they are
 4820 pricked: a stony way afore their eies, where they stamble, and stomblynge fall, and fallynge they lese their lyfe, and wyne dethe. The great trees of whom we haue fruite in wynter and shadowe in sommer, first is planted the rotes fast in the entayles of the erthe, or euer their waueringe
 4825 boughes are aduentured in the wynd. Marke Panutius marke well. The man that from his youth hath set before hym the fere of the goddis, and the shame of men, is habited in vertues: 7 he that accompanyeth with them that be vertuous, mainteyneth trouthe to euery mā, and lyueth
 4830 without preiudice of any man. Malicious fortune maye somtyme cleue the barke of the welth of suche a tree, wyther the floure of his youthe, breake the leaues of his fauour, gather the fruite of his trauaylle, breake downe a bough of his offices, 7 bowe down the height of his coun-
 4835 cell: yet for all the strokes that the wynde can strike, it can not be plucked vp by the rote. Certaynely the sonne that the father hath endewed with graces, and the sonne appli
 enge

*f.78)*enge hym in vices, ought not to be borne in this worlde:
 7 if he be borne, to be buried quicke. For the fathers sweate
 by day, and watche by nyght, to leue honour to their chil- 4840
 dern, whiche the fathers bye of the goddis with fighes, 7
 the mothers delyuered of them with peyne, and bring the
 vp with trauayle: and the chylde proueth so, that he gy-
 ueth greuous age to the father in his lyfe, and great infam-
 my after his deth. I confider wel, that the prince Comode 4845
 being yonge and I olde, ageinft his wyl forbare vices: 7
 I fere me that after my deth he wyl hate vertues. I remē-
 bre diuers of his aēge haue enherited the empire, whiche
 were so hardy in their lyues, that they deserued to be cal-
 led tyrantes after their dethes. Exāple of Denys renou- 4850
 med tirāt of Sycill, which hired them that coude inuent
 vices, as our Rome rewardeth them ŷ conquere realmes.
 What gretter tyranny can be in a tyrāt, than to make most
 priuie to him the that be vicious? Also I forget not ŷ four
 kingis, that succeded after gret Alexander, as Ptholome, 4855
 Anthioco, Siluio, 7 Antigonus, which the grekes called
 great tirantis: al that Alexāder had gotē with renoumid
 triūphes, they lost by their vicioufnes. And in this maner
 the world ŷ Alexāder had deuided among them .iiii. came
 to the hādis of mo than foure .C. for Antigonus set so litle 4860
 by that had cost his lord Alexāder so moch, 7 was so light
 in his age, 7 so bold in his realme, ŷ in mockery in ŷ stede
 of a crowne of gold, he ware a garland of Iuie: 7 in stede
 of a sceptre, he bare a thyftle in his right hand: and after
 that maner he wold fyt among his men, 7 whan he spake 4865
 to strangers. I lay shame to the yong man so to do, but I
 meruaile that the sadde and wyse men of Grece suffred it.
 ¶ I remēbre also Caligula the .iiii. emperour of Rome,
 a yonge man, in whose tyme it was harde to knowe, whi-
 che was the greater, eyther the difobedience of the people 4870
 to their

(*f. 78^b) *to their lorde, or the hatred that the lorde bare to the people. And this yonge prince went so farre out of the waye in his youthe, and was so farre wyde from reason in his tyrannies, that euerye man studyed howe to take his lyfe
 4875 from hym: 7 he studied to flee euery man. He wrote these wordes in a table of golde: Wolde to god that all Rome hadde but one heed, to the entent that with one stroke I myght strike it of.

¶ I also remembre Tyberie, sonne adoptiue of good Auguste, called August, bycause he augmented Rome. But
 4880 this good olde prince dyd not so moche augment it in his lyfe, but this yonge successeur destroyed it moch more after his deathe. The hate that the Romayne people had against Tyberie in his lyfe was ryghte well shewed after
 4885 his dethe. For the same day that he died, or whan he was slayne, the people made dyuers processions, and the senators offred great gyftes in the temples, and the priestes offred great sacrifices to their goddis, to thentēt that they shulde not receyue the foule of the sayd Tyberie into their
 4890 glorie: but to sende it to the furies of Hell.

¶ Also I mynde Patrocle the seconde kynge of Corynthe, whiche enherited the realme beinge but .xvi. yere of age, and he was so vicious of his body and so lyberall of his mouth, that where as his father helde the realme .lx.
 4895 yere, he possessed it but .xxx. days.

¶ Also the auncient Tarquin the proude, the .vii. kynge of Rome, whiche was right goodly in gesture, ryght valyant in armes, and of a clene bloudde, as an unhappy prince defyled all his vertues with noughty luyng: in
 4900 such wife that he conuerted his beautie into lechery, his power into tyrāny, for the villanie that he dyd to Lucrece the chaste lady of Rome: wherby he lost not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquin was banysshed for euer
 out

(*f.79)*out of Rome.

4905

¶ I remembre cruelle Nero, whiche enherited and dyed yonge: 7 in him ended the memorie of the noble Cefars: and by hym was renewed the memorie of Antygones the tyrantes. Whom thinkest thou this tirant wolde suffre to lyue, whiche flewe his owne mother? Tel me I pray the, 4910 what harte is that of a chylde, to flee his owne mother, to open the brestes that he sucked, to shed the bloode of her that nourished hym in her armes, and to beholde the entrayles, wherein he was fourmed? What thynkeste thou, that he wolde not haue done, sith he commytted suche an 4915 yl dede? The day that Nero flew his mother, an oratour sayd in the senate, that Agrippine his mother had deferred deth for chyldyng suche a childe in Rome. These thre dayes that thou haste sene me so altered in my mynde, all these thynges came before me: and I haue drawen them 4920 into the depenes of my harte, and disputed them. This sonne of myn holdeth me in the gulfe of the see, betwene the wawes of feare, and the ankers of dispaire, hopynge that he shulde be good, bycause I haue nourished hym well, and fearynge that he shulde be ylle, bicause his mother Faustine hath brought hym vppe wantonly, and the yonge man is inclyned to yll. And as ye se a thyng made by artifice peryshe, and a naturall thinge laste: I am in great feare that after my dethe he wyll tourne that waye that his mother hath childed hym, and not as I haue 4930 nourished hym. O how happy were I, if I had neuer a child to leue behynde me to be emperour? Then a chylde myght be chosen amonge children of good fathers, and I shulde not haue ben troubled with him that the goddis haue gyuen me. Panutius I demaunde one thyng of the, 4935 whether thou callest moſte fortunate Uaspaſian the naturall father of Domitian, or els Nerua the father adaptife of Traian?

(*f. 79^b) *Traian? Uaspasian was good, and Nerua very good, 7
 Domitian was of all other moofte cruelle, and Traiane
 4940 the myrrour of all clemency. Thē regard how Uaspasian
 in the fortune to haue children was vnhappy, and Nerua
 in the mysfortune to haue children was happy. I knowe
 not why thefe faders desire to haue children, fith they ben
 the occafion of fo moche trauayle. O Panutius, I wylle
 4945 fay one thing to the, as a frende to a frend (as thou knoweft
 wel we be in this worlde) I haue lyued .lxii. yeres, in
 whiche tyme I haue redde many thinges, and haue herd,
 fene, desired, atteyned, poffeffed, fuffred and refted moch,
 and nowe at this tyme I muft dye: and of al thing I fhall
 4950 beare nothyng away, bycaufe both it and I are nothing.
 Gret befynes the hart hath to ferche for thefe goodes, and
 great trauayle to come to them: but without comparifon
 the greateft dolour is at the houre of the deth to departe
 and leaue them. what greater difeafe can be to the body,
 4955 than fodeynely to be furprifed with ennemies? what per-
 rille of the fee or loffe of frendes can be egalle, to fe a ver-
 tuous man drawe to his deathe, to leue the fweate of his
 face? the auctoritie of the empire, the honour of his per-
 fone, the company of his frendes, the remedye of his det-
 4960 tours, the rewardingge of his feruantes, and to leaue it to
 a chylde, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power
 to wyll to merite it.

¶ In the .ix. table of the lawes were thefe wordis writtē:
 We cōmaunde and ordeyne, that euery father, who in the
 4965 opinion of all men is good, fhall difherite his fonne that
 is yll in euery mans opinion. Alfo euery chylde, what fo
 euer he be, that difobeyeth his father, and robbeth any tē-
 ple, or hurte any wydowe, fo that fhe blede, flee fro the ba-
 tayle, or do any treafon to a ftranger, who fo euer is foude
 4970 in any of thefe fyue cafes, lette him be banyfhed for euer
 the

(*f.80) *the habitation of Rome, and cast out fro the heritage of his father.

¶ In good sothe this lawe was good, and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinate hit was ordeyned, and nowe by vs whiche be vnhaply[sic], it is cleane lefte and forgotten. Pa-⁴⁹⁷⁵nutius without doubte I am wery to speake, and also I haue suche an impediment in my stomake, that I wante brethe: or elles I coulde shewe the all by order, yf myne vnderstondynge fayled me not, howe many Parthiens, Mediens, Affyriens, Caldiens, Indyens, Egypcyens,⁴⁹⁸⁰ Hebrewes, Grekes, and Romaines haue lefte their chyl-dren poore, and myght haue left them ryche: and al was bicause they were vicious: and other childerne that were very poore, were lefte ryche, bycause they were good and vertuous. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that⁴⁹⁸⁵ whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and Rome, and that the tryumphe and glorie was gyuen to me, and my sonne confirmed to be emperour: I wolde the Senate hadde lefte me my sonne Commodus poore with all his vyces, and that I hadde made the Senate⁴⁹⁹⁰ heire 7 lorde to the empire: and to haue chaastyfed hym to the exauple of all the worlde. I wyll that thou knowe, I shall carie fyue thynges with me out of this worlde intermedled, the whiche is great sorowe to my harte: The fyrste is, that I haue not determyned and iudged the plee⁴⁹⁹⁵ and procelle of the noble wydowe Drusia with the Senate, feinge that she is very poore, and hathe no bodye to doo her Iustyce: The seconde is bycause I do not dye in Rome, to the intent that I myght cause to be cried and proclaymed euery where in Rome er I dyed, to wyte if a-⁵⁰⁰⁰ny complayned on me: the thyrd is, that where as I dyd flee .xiiii, tyrantes that vndyd the countreye, that I had not as well banyshed all the Pirates that kepte the fees:
the

(*f. 80^b) *the fourth is, that I left my dere sonne Ueriffimus deed:
 5005 and the .v. that I haue lefte alyue, as heire to the empire
 my sonne Commodus. O Panutius the greattest happe
 that the goddis can giue to a man (not couetous but ver-
 tuous) is to gyue hym renoume in his lyfe, 7 and a good heire
 to conferue him after his deathe. Fynally to conclude, I
 5010 pray to the goddis, if I shall haue any parte with them,
 that if by my sonnes offences Rome be sclaundred and
 my renoume mynished, and my hous lost by his lyfe, that
 they wyll take away his lyfe yet or I dye.

¶ What temperour sayde to the maysters of his sonne,
 and to the rulers of thempire. Cap. xliii.

5015 **I** Se you auncient fathers 7 noble Ro-
 mayns, and ryght faythfull seruantes
 take payne and sorowe for that I must
 yelde me to dethe, and leaue this lyfe,
 and treat with my sepulchre. Ye sorow
 for my sorowe, ye are turmented with
 5020 myn anguysh, 7 peyned for my peine:
 it is no meruaylle. For the clere vnderftondyng of the
 pure blod of true and faythful frendes, is to double their
 trauayles and to wepe for other: if one brute beaft morne
 for an other, moche more ought one humayne creature so-
 5025 rowe for an other. And this I say, bycause I know by the
 teares of your eyes, the felynge of your hartes. And syth
 that the greattest rewarde for any benefyie[sic] is to know it,
 and thanke the partie therof: as moche as I can I thāke
 you. And if my weake thanks be not correspondent to
 5030 your pitiefulle wepyng, I require the goddis after they
 haue taken away my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duetie.
 It is greatte pleasure for the familie to knowe their mai-
 ster

(*f. 81) *fter go with the goddis, and great peyne to hym to leaue them. For company of many yeres is loth to leue the life. In my lyfe tyme I haue done with you as I ought to do, ⁵⁰³⁵ and as nowe I muft do as I may. The goddis wyl take my foule away, Comodus my fonne the empire, the fepulchre my bodye, and ye my fpeciall frendes my herte. And fothly it is reafon, that fithe ye were in the lyfe my hartis, that it be yours after my dethe. And in that I wyll fpeake ⁵⁰⁴⁰ more particuler this night fhall be our reafonyng. Nowe my harty frendes ye fe, that I am come to the ende of my lafte iourney, and to the begynninge of my firfte iourney with the goddis. It is reafon, that fyth I haue loued you in tyme pafte, that ye beleue me nowe. For the tyme is com ⁵⁰⁴⁵ that ye can demande nothyng of me: nor I haue nothing to offre you: nor myn eares as now can not here flateries, nor my herte fuffre importunities: yf ye neuer knewe me, knowe me now. I haue ben he that I am, and am he that hath ben, in tymes pafte lyke vnto you, fomewhat: nowe ⁵⁰⁵⁰ ye fe I am but lyttell, and within a lyttell whyle I fhall be nothyng. This daye fhall ende the lyfe of Marke your frende, this daye fhall ende the lyfe of Marc your parent, this day fhall ende the fatall deftenies of Marc your lord, this day fhall ende the fignorie of Marke your emperour, ⁵⁰⁵⁵ and this day fhall ende his empire. I haue vanquyffhed many, and nowe I am ouercome with deth: I am he that hath caufed many to dye, and I can not as now gyue my felfe one day of lyfe: I am he that hath entred into chariottes of golde, and this day I fhall be layde on a biere ⁵⁰⁶⁰ of wodde: I am he for whome many haue longe merily, and this day they wepe: I am he that hath had company in all exercitees, and this day I fhall be gyuen to hungry wormes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that with famous triumph mounted into the high capitolle, and this ⁵⁰⁶⁵ daye

(*f. 81^b) *day with forgetfulnes I shal discende in to the sepulchre.

I se nigh with myn eies, that was farre hyd in my herte.
 And as the goddis be fauourable to you in this worlde, 7
 equalle and fauourable to me in an other worlde, as my
 5070 fleshe neuer toke pleasure to passe this lyfe, but my harte
 was sodaynely taken with the feare of deathe: than take
 no payne for me, for eyther I muste see the ende of you, or
 you of me. I yelde greatte thanks to the goddis, that
 they take away this old person to rest with them, and leue
 5075 you yonge for to serue in thempire. For there is no com-
 parison so to speake of dethe to the lyfe, nor to eschewe
 the dethe at the houre therof. And yet I wyl not deny, but
 I do feare dethe, as a mortal man. Whan the lyfe passeth
 there is no prudence in a prudent, nor vertue in a vertu-
 5080 ous, nor lordshyp in a lorde, that can take away the feare
 of the spirite, nor payne of the fleshe. At this tyme the
 fowle and the fleshe are so combyned and so conglutinate
 to gyther, and the spirite with the bloude are so annexed,
 that the separation of the one from the other is the moste
 5085 terrible, and the last terrible of all terriblenes. Certayne-
 ly it accordeth vnto good reasone, that the fowle departe
 dolorously, leauynge the fleshe vnto wormes, and the bo-
 dy as enuious to se the soule go and sporte with the god-
 des. O what lyttell thoughte we take in this lyfe, vntylle
 5090 we falle grouelynge with our eyes vppon dethe. Beleue
 me, Sythe I haue passed from whens ye be, and haue ex-
 perimented that ye do see, that is the vanities of vs that
 are vayne, is so agreable to vs, that whanne we begynne
 to lyue, we ymageine that our lyfe wylle endure a holle
 5095 worlde, and whanne it is ended, hit semeth vs to be but a
 puffe or a blaste of wynde. And bycause than sensualitie
 peyneth for sensibylitie, and the fleshe for the fleshe, rea-
 son guyded with them that be mortall telleth me, that it
 peyneth

(*f.82)*peyneth not with the departynge. If I haue lyued as a brute beaste, hit is reason that I dye as a discrete manne ⁵¹⁰⁰ ought to do. I dyenge, this day shall dye al my fyckenes, hungre shall dye, colde shall dye, all my peynes shall dye, my thought shall dye, my displeasure shall dye, and eue-ry thinge that gyueth payne and sorowe. This daye the nyght shall be taken away, and the sonne shyne bright in ⁵¹⁰⁵ the skye: This day the ruste shall be taken fro myn eies, and I shall see the sonne clerely: This daye the way shall be made smothe for to goo righte: this is, the daye shall ende the iourneye, wherin I shall not drede the stayes of Fortune. I thanke the goddis immortall, that haue suf- ⁵¹¹⁰ fered me to lyue so clerely, and soo longe a tyme. This day I shall haue an ende of all vnhappy destenies of enuious fortune, and not they of me. Of trouthe if the goddis haue commaunded my flesshe to be hydden in the sepulchre, and to be as mortalle: yet if they be iuste and do ⁵¹¹⁵ well, they wyl make my renoume to be immortal, bycause I haue lyued well. Than syth I chaunge this very lyfe and company of menne, for the swetenes of the goddis, and the doubtes of Fortune for this sure lyfe, and greate and contynuall feare for perpetuall peace, and this ylle ⁵¹²⁰ and naughty corrupte lyfe for good renoume and glorye, I thynke verily this shulde be none yll chaunge.

¶ It is nowe thre score and two yeres sythe the erth hath susteyned and fedde the erthe of my bodye: It is nowe tyme that the erthe knowledg me for her sonne, and I ⁵¹²⁵ wyll also take her for my mother. Uerely it is a pytiefull mother, that wylle nowe take me into her entraylles for euer, sythe that I haue so longe space trodden her vnder my feete. And yet though that I were as I am, for to be as she is, I am in certayne that she wolde kepe me su- ⁵¹³⁰ rer among her wormes, thā Rome among the senatours.

And

Y. ii.

(*f. 82 b) *And al though it be paynful to you, yet if it plese the goddis to haue it thus, no mā can excuse nor scape it. I shulde be right wel eased, if this webbe were broken, and my possession taken in the Sepulchre. Than shulde I haue the firste thing propre of myn owne, and perpetuall without any feare of lesinge therof. All thinges mortall, that mortalle folkes haue, and the enuye of them that be enuious may be broken, except the deth and the sepulchre, the which are priuiledged from enraged hongre of enuy. I se you well shedyng teares from your eies, 7 reise heuy sighes frome the depenes of your hartes. Wylle ye not that I shulde desire deathe, fith the phisitians giue me but three houres of lyfe? and there are conteyned in me .iii. M. yeres of peynes, the length wherof is a cyronisme of dethe. And yet though our debilitie be weake, yet for al that our honour is so sensible, that at the houre of dethe, the more that the bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the more is the herte charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the finewes untye theym fro the bones of the body, than newly they tie agayne a soore knotte to the herte. Nowe lette vs leaue speakyng of that towcheth particularly my selfe, and speake we in generalle of that is conueniente to a yonge Prince, and to you that are his tutors and maysters.

¶ ye se here my sonne Comodus only prince and heire, abidinge for the heritage of thempire: neyther for beinge good, that he meriteth praise, nor for being yl reprove. For he hath taken his naturalitie of the goddis, and his nature amonge you. Dyuers tymes whan he was a childe, ye toke hym in your armes, to thentent that nowe he is a man, ye shulde sette hym in your hertes. Hytherto he hath taken you for his maysters: and nowe at this tyme, he muste repute you as his fathers. And whiles I lyued, ye helde

(*f.83)*helde hym for your prince in nourysshynge hym, for your⁵¹⁶⁵
 emperour in seruing him, and as your parent in helping
 hym, and as your sonne in teachynge hym. Hytherto ye
 onely helde him charge, as father, mother, and maysters:
 he is nowe as a newe shyppe put this daye in to the right
 see, fleting to the botomles fwolowe, where as the sayles⁵¹⁷⁰
 of prosperitie wyll make hym fall, and the rockes of vn-
 happynes wyll drowne hym. Than amonge so many vn-
 fortunate wyndes and vnstable waters, there is greatte
 necessitie of good oores. Surely I am very fory for them-
 pire, and haue great compasssion of this yong prince, and⁵¹⁷⁵
 fuche as wolde his welthe, shall more bewaylle his lyfe
 than my dethe. For scapinge fro the see I se my selfe at a
 good sure porte, and vppon mayne lande, and leaue hym
 the sweate and trauayle. For as yet he knoweth not howe
 to aduenture to sayle on the see: nor yet knoweth not whe-⁵¹⁸⁰
 ther he shal abyde the age of my long experience, nor whe-
 ther he shall be a reasonable emperour or no. But whatte
 shall forowfull Rome do, whan it hath nouryshed a good
 prince, and that fatall destenies maketh an ende of hym,
 or that by enuy of them that be yll he is slayn? or the cru-⁵¹⁸⁵
 eltie of the goddis taketh hym away: or that the body by
 his owne propre handes be lyfte vp in fuche wise, that in
 theexperiment of princes al the life tyme parteth in bewai-
 lynge the youthe of yonge princes, and the grautie of
 their auncient princes passed. O if these princes beleued⁵¹⁹⁰
 at the beginnyng of their empire, other kinges that are
 fayled in the worlde, how they be taught whan it is so im-
 portable for one man withoute charge to rule so many re-
 almes, and he doinge nothyng but take theyr goodes,
 robbe him of his renoume, banishe their persons fro him,⁵¹⁹⁵
 and he to ende his lyfe, and his subiectes augment their
 sorowes: and fithe he is but one, he can do no more than
 one,

(*f. 83^b) *one, though dyuers hope that he doth for all. Regarde in
 what myfauenture a prince lyueth, whan the leaft vilayn
 5200 in Italy thinketh, that al only for hym and on hym alone
 the prince fetteth his eies. And fith the worlde is fo chan-
 geable, and the people fo vnruly, the day that a prince is
 crowned and exalted with a fceptre ryall, the fame daye
 he fubmitteth his goodis to the couetous, 7 all his eftate
 5205 to the femblaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddis
 fhew their power. For al the vnderftandynge are tacked
 to one free wyll. The femyng of all they condemne, and
 allowe but one. They giue the domination to one, and the
 fubiection to many. To one they gyue the chaftifement
 5210 of all, 7 not all to the chaftifement of one. For the tafte of
 many, they giue meate but to one: the fauour wherof is
 fwete to fome, and fowre to other: to fome remayneth the
 bone, and to fome the flefhe: at the laft fome be drowned 7
 other be hyndred, 7 at the end al haue an ende. I wold de-
 5215 mand of you that be moft familier, what is the crowne of
 thempire, or the fceptre of gold, or the coler of perles or p-
 cious ftones, or robes of Alexāder, or veffel of Corinth, or
 chariottes of triūph, or what offices of Confules or dicta-
 tours are defired in change of their reft? for it is certaine,
 5220 they can not attayn to the one, without lefing of the other.
 And this is the caufe y there be yl mariners, 7 to hardi pi-
 lottes, for they fle fro the fe to the lande, 7 fro the lande to
 the fee. One thing I wil fay, y is ageinfte my felf: euery mā
 hateth warre, 7 no man fekith for peace. All forowe for one
 5225 that is angred, and none is cōtent to appeace, al wold cō-
 mande, but none wil be cōmaunded. This hath ben in the
 world paffed, 7 now at this present time men be fo light, y
 they rather chufe to cōmand with peril, than to obey with
 reft. Seinge that my days are diminifhed, 7 my fickenes
 5230 augmented, fufpecting thā that I fe now, whan I retur-
 ned

(*f.84) *ned fro the warre of Sycil, I determyned to make my testament, the whiche ye may se here: Open and beholde it. and therby ye shall se howe I leaue you to be maysters of my son, yet in loue and fidelitie ye be to gither all as one. Great peryll the prince is in, and the common welth in an 5235 yll aduenture, where as be many intentions amonge the gouernours. Certaynly the princis are glorious, and the people well fortunate, and the senate happy, whan all agree in one counsell, and that the counsaylers be ancient, and many of them, and al their intētions agree vpon one 5240 thinge. Whan this was in Rome, it was feared and dred of tirantes, hauinge their consultations approued with iii .C. barons. And though their reasons were diuers, yet their wylles and intētis were al one for the cōmon welth, I desire and coniure you by the goddes, that ye be all frē- 5245 des in conuersation, and conformable in counsell. All the weke debilities in a prince may be suffrid, except yl cōūcel: and all defautes of counsayllours are tollerable, excepte enuy 7 ire. Whā the freting worm called a mothe, entreth amonge them, it causeth perylle in Justice, dishonour to 5250 the prince, sclander in the commons, and parcialite in the superiours. The cōūsayler that hath his minde ouercome with ire, and his herte occupied with enuy, and his wordes outrageous to a good man, it is reson that he lose the fauour of the goddis, his priuētie with the prince, and the 5255 credence of the people. For he presumeth to offende the goddis with yll intention, to serue the prince with yl cōūcel, and to offende the common welth with his ambition. O how ignorant are these princis, that take hede of suche herbes 7 venims that myghte poyson them in their meates, and care not for the poyson that they of their priuētie cōūsayle do gyue them? Doubtles there is no cōparifon, for the herbes and poysons can be giuen but on one daye:
but

(*f. 84^b) *but the venyme of yll counsell is giuen euey houre. Ue-
 5265 nym is defended by the horne of an vnicorne, by tryacle,
 and otherwyfe by vomites: but the poyson of yll counsell
 hath no remedy, and lesse defensiues. And finally I saye,
 that the venym gyuen by an enmy can but flee one empe-
 5270 prouie to euyll counsell, fleeth the emperour, and distro-
 yeth the common welthe. And where as euey vertuous
 prince setteth more by perpetuall renoume than this falli-
 ble lyfe, ye beinge gouernours of thempire, and maysters
 to my sonne, they that owe hym yll wyll haue not so moch
 5275 power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. Ther-
 fore if he be awaked by his enmies straungers, moche ra-
 ther he ought to be awaked amonge his domesticall fren-
 des. One thinge I commaunde as to my seruantes, and
 I desire you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe
 5280 so priue openly, as ye be in secrete: to thentent that some
 feme not as natural sonnes, and other as hired seruantis.
 He that is vertuous, oughte to haue great regarde to the
 profite of his lorde secretely, and to be of meke conuerfa-
 tion with euey man openly, els his priuitie wyll not lōge
 5285 endure, and the hate of the prince with the people wyl in-
 creace. Oftentymes I haue redde of our predeceffours,
 and I haue sene it in the present Romaynes, whan many
 holde with one, that one holdeth but lyttell with dyuers,
 and lesse with many, the whiche kepeth their willes as far
 5290 of, as the persons be nigh. And sith the ylnes of the time,
 and vnstablenes of fortune neuer leaueth any thinge in
 one case, but all is as in maner of a dreame: the moste sure
 purchase is to flee fro peril, for then whā the princes haue
 passed their plesures entermedled in trauailes, they ser-
 5295 che for many and finde not one. Therof cometh, that one
 present for feare will withdrawe hym, and an other out of
 fauour

(*f.85) *faour and absente wyll not come. I wyll shewe you one thinge, the whiche ye shall alwaye put in my sonnes memorie: They that in our trauayles haue determyned of a longe feson to apply them, we ought to wyne their good willes. The wily labourer in one yere laboureth to gette cornes together, and in an other yere he soweth and gadereyth. Be not to presumptuous, for the presumption of an auncient prince, fordooth the auctorite of the yong prince: yet for al this dispraise nor rebuke him not to moche: For the lacke of maners in the state of a lorde engendreth vnfhamefastnes in him, and boldnes to the seruant. I haue leste in my testament the prince Comodus for your sonne, and you for his fathers. But I wyll and commande, that euery man knowlege him to be their lord, and to be at his commaundement. And ye my other seruantes and subiectes to be his in obedience, and in all his hye besineffes to be well guyded as his frendes and louers. Justice ought to be sene to, by wise oratours, accordinge to the opinion of you that be his gouernours. And alwaye the determination to be done by the prince, which is lorde of al. One counsell I wyll gyue you, and if ye finde it yll, blame me afore the goddis, and than the empire of my sonne shalbe stable and permanent in Rome, and your priuete sere in his hous, if your counsellors be moued by reason, and his wyll ruled by your counsels. I desire soore that ye be not couetous: and therefore I haue gyuen you dyuers gyftes and thankes in my lyfe, to take couetousnes from you afore my dethe. It were a monstrous thing and very dredfull, that suche as ought to refrayne couetyse fro straungers, to haue their owne handes open for their owne propre lucres. The vertuous priue men, ought not to do all the yl that they may, nor to desire all that they may atteyn vnto, to the intente that the prince gyue theym so moche goodes

(*f. 85^b) 5330 *goodes for the profite of their houfes, and peyne and enuy of the people to their perfons. And as in meane shyppes men fcape beft in a meane fee, foner than in great carrackes, in the wawes of the roringe and impituous fees: in likewife fuche as be in meane eftate amonge them that be
 5335 but meanly enuious, lyue more furely, than fuche as are fette in high eftate and priueticie beinge ryche, to be paffyoned among ennemies, that difdaynfully wold put them vnder. It is a notable rule amonge wife men, and an infallible experience amonge them that be good, 7 I thinke
 5340 that by heringe therof the yll fhall knowlege it: The glorie of one amonge great men maketh ftryfe, fufpection in them that be egal, and enuy amonge them that be meane. One thinge, that they that gouerne well, ought to haue, is liberalitie. The leffe ye be couetous, the more ye fhall be
 5345 lyberal. For with the rage of couetoufnes the right of Iuftice is mynifhed. It is longe tyme lithe I determynd to gyue you the gouernying of thempire, and the nourifhing of my fonne. And to haue prouyded to haue gyuen you largely of my goodes, to put the couetyng of other mens
 5350 goodes from you. I warrant you one thing: yf couetoufnes be amonge you, and be enuied of your neyghbours, ye fhall lyue in peyne, and your hartes fhall be peyned with other mens befinettes, and your mindes fhall be euer in fufpect. Than fhall ye folow the Iuftice of other, where
 5355 as ye fhall fe your owne ppre welth. One counfel fynally I wyl gyue you, which I haue takē alway my felfe. Neuer commyt your honours to the myfhappes of fortune: nor neuer offre your felfe to peryll with hope of remedy. For fufpecious fortune kepeth alwayes her gates wyde open
 5360 for peril, and her walles ben high, 7 her wyckettes narrow to finde any remedy. And bicaufe I fele my felfe fore traunayled, I pray you fuffre me to reft a lyttell.

How

(*f.86) ¶ *Howe the emperour at the houre of his dethe, sent for his sonne, and declared to him, who shuld gouerne the Empire. Cap. xliiii.



Hus a great parte of the night passed, and the day began to breake, and the life of this good emperour began fast to drawe to an ende: yet ⁵³⁶⁵ for all that he left not the remēbrance of suche thinges as shulde be ordered after his deathe. There were that time in the warre with him diuers right excellent men senatours of Rome: and in al thinges he she wed him self right wife, 7 specially he wold neuer haue a- ⁵³⁷⁰ ny vicians [sic] persone in his howse. He had euer in his company .l. gentylmen knightes, 7 in eche of them he might haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Oftentymes this good emperour wolde say, that princis lyued more surely with the gadryng to them men of good lyuyng 7 conuersation, ⁵³⁷⁵ thā with trefure of money stuffed in their chestes. Unhappye is þy prince, that estemeth hym selfe happy to haue his coffres ful of trefure, and his counsell ful of men of yl lyuyng. These malicious and yll men make princis poore: and a perfyte man suffiseth to make a holle realme ryche. ⁵³⁸⁰ Surely this emperour layd well. For we do se daily, that what the father hath gotten in fiftye yeres, the son leseth in halfe a yere. Than chusinge among many a fewe, and of fewe to take the best, this emperour appoynted out .vi. notable barons: Thre of thē to be maisters of his son, 7 o- ⁵³⁸⁵ ther .iii. to be gouernors of thempire. One was Partinax, which after was emperour: an other was called Pompeiano, husbād to his doughter, as sure in coucel as he was aged in yeres: The .iii. Gneo Patrocle of the anciēt stock of the Pompeies, whiche was no lesse clene in his lyuing ⁵³⁹⁰ than his heres were white: The .iiii. was called Andrisco whiche

(*f. 86^b) *which in goodlynes of his gesture, highnes of body, vertue of courage, and wyfedom in conscience, none was egalle to him in Rome: The .v. was named Bononius, whiche at that tyme was consule, and in the auncient lawes very experte: The last was called Juan varius the good, and he was called the good, bycause that in .lx. yere neuer man sawe hym do any ylle workes, nor harde hym speake any ydel worde, nor do any thinge but it was profitable to the common welthe. Though in case they were all egall in gouernynge: yet I say these laste thre were principall. For Juan Uarius particularly was left to be chief capitayne of the armye, and to hym was deliuered all the treasure, and the testament was put into his handes: and with fore weping the emperour recommended to hym the prince his sonne. Than whan the peine of his sicknes encreaced, and that he loked for the houre of his deth, he commaunded to awake his sonne Comodus, whiche without any care was faste allepe, and whan he was brought in to the presence of his father, it was greatte pitie to see the eien of the olde emperour soore discoloured with weping, and the eies of the sonne almoste closed with slepinge: the sonne was wakyng with small thoughte, and the father coude not slepe for greât thought and peyne. And whan he was in his presence, feinge the lyttell care that the son toke for the dethe of his father, and confidering the great desire of the father for the good lyfe of his sonne, it moued to pitie the hartes of all the great lordes that were there, no lesse to leaue the company of the good olde man, than the annoyance of the dealyng of the yonge prince: Thā the emperour sayde to his sonne these wordes.

¶ What the emperour sayde to his sonne at the houre of his dethe. Cap. .xlvi.

Unto

(*f.87)*



Nto thy maysters 7 my gouernours I haue
 shewed howe they shal counsell the: and now
 my sonne at this houre I say to the, how they
 though they be but a fewe, 7 all for the alone ⁵⁴²⁵
 shal gouerne: and it is not to be taken in smal
 estimation. The mooste easye thinge in the worlde is to
 giue counsell to an other: and the mooste hardest and hiest
 thinge is a man to take it for hym selfe. There is none so
 simple a man but he may giue good coucell, though there ⁵⁴³⁰
 be no nede. And there is none so wyse that wyl refuse cou-
 sell in tyme of necessitie. I se one thing that al take coun-
 selle for all, and at the laste take it for him selfe. Some I
 thinke accordynge to my heuy fatalle destenies, and thyn
 yll customes, that one thinge shall not profite the, that is, ⁵⁴³⁵
 if the lyttell goodnes that thou hast done was for feare of
 me in my lyfe, that thou wylte doo lesse whan thou haste
 forgotten my dethe. I do more nowe for to satisfie my de-
 sire and the cōmon welthe, than for any hope that I haue
 of the amendement of thy lyfe. There is not a worse com ⁵⁴⁴⁰
 playnt, than that a man holdeth of him selfe. If thou my
 sonne be yl, Rome wyl complayne to the goddis, that they
 haue giuen the so yll inclinations. They wyl complayne
 of Faustine thy mother, that hath brought the vp so wan-
 tonly: and they wylle complayne on thy selfe, that thou ⁵⁴⁴⁵
 dost not refrayne the from vices: and they shall not com-
 playne of thyn olde father that hath gyuen the so manye
 good councelles. I am in certayne, thou hast not so great
 dolour to see the ende of this nyghte, and the ende of my
 lyfe, as thou haste plesure [sic] to se the day that thou shalt be ⁵⁴⁵⁰
 emperour: and I haue no meruayle: for where as sensu-
 alitie reigneth, reason is put asyde. Dyuers thinges are
 beleued bycause they are knowen vncertainly. O how ma-
 ny thinges of trouthe ben there, that if they were knowen
 truely

(*f. 87^b) ⁵⁴⁵⁵ *truely thay shulde be leste. But we ben so doubtful in eue-
 ry thing, and go about our busyness so variably and in-
 constantly, that sometyme our spirites breake the pur-
 pose, and an other tyme they rydde vs not of trouble nor
 hyndrance. I say we be so swifte to do yll, that sometyme
⁵⁴⁶⁰ we lese by a carde of the most: and to do wel we be so dul,
 y we lese by a card of the leste: 7 at the last we do nothings
 but lese. Sonne I wyll aduertise the by wordes, that I
 haue knowen in .lxii. yere by longe experience: and sythe
 thou arte my sonne and yonge, it is reason that thou be-
⁵⁴⁶⁵ leue hym that is thy old father. As we princes are regard
 of all men, and regarde al men, and are regarded of al o-
 ther, this day thou doste enherite thempire of the worlde
 and the courte of Rome. I knowe well there be inowe in
 the court of princes, that know nothyng what is to make
⁵⁴⁷⁰ them selfe of worthynes, and to maynten them self amōg
 so many trūperies as are treated in the houses of princes.
 I lette the to wytte, that in the court is auncient parciali-
 ties, present discentions fearefull vnderstondynges, eu-
 ident wytnesses, entrayles of serpentis, tongues of scor-
⁵⁴⁷⁵ pions, many detractours, and fewe that seke peace, and
 where as al men shulde harken to the cōmon voyce, euery
 man fercheth his owne proufite. Euery manne sheweth a
 good pretence, and all are occupied in yll workes: In su-
 che wise, that some by avarice lese their good fame, and
⁵⁴⁸⁰ some prodigally spende and waite all their goodes. What
 shulde I saye more? In the courte euery daye the lordes
 chaunge and alter the lawes, awake stryfes, and reyse
 noyses, abate noblenes, exalte the vnworthy, banysh the in-
 nocentis, and honour theues, loue flaterers, and dispraye-
⁵⁴⁸⁵ seth theym the whiche be vertuous, embrace delites, and
 treade vertue vnder their fete: Wepe for theym that be
 ylle, and laughe to scorne them that be good: and final-
 ly they

(*f.88) *ly they take all lyghtnes for their mother, and vertue for
 theyr stepmother. And my sonne I saye more vnto the,
 The courte, the whiche thou shalte enheryte this daye, is 5490
 nothinge but a shoppe with waares, and a howse of va-
 caboundes, wherin some selle vyle and corrupt thynges,
 and other bye lyes, some haue credence, and some haue
 renoume, some haue goodes, and some haue luyng, and
 al to gither is but losse of tyme: 7 that worst of al is, they 5495
 wyll not beleue the poyson therof, tyl it be at their hartis,
 they are so folysh and sturdy. Rome hath verye hie wal-
 les, and the vertues therof is very lowe: Rome vaunteth
 it selfe to be very stronge in nombre of inhabitantes, and
 afterwarde Rome shal wepe that there is more people thā 5500
 vertue, and vyces are not accompted. In a moneth a mā
 might reckon all the stoncs of the proude edifices, but in
 a. M. yeres he myght not comprise the malycies of his yll
 customes. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that in
 thre yeres I repaired all that was decayed in Rome, and 5505
 in thirty yere I coude not refourme one quarter therof to
 good luyng. Good sonne beleue me, the great cities ful
 of good inhabitantes ought to be prayfed, 7 not the great
 edifyces. Our predeceffours haue triumphed on straun-
 gers as weake and feble: and now they maye triumph 5510
 on vs also, as menne that be more vanquyshed with vy-
 ces than any of the other. By the mightines and prowes-
 ses of our predeceffours, we that be now are greattely
 honoured and exalted, and by the small estimation of vs
 that be now, they that come after vs may be greatly asha- 5515
 med. Of a very trouth it is a great shame to saye, and no
 lesse infamie to doo, that the goodnes and trauayle of the
 auncientes shuld now be turned and conuerted to folies
 and presumption. My son loke well on thy selfe, that the
 reyne of thy youthe, and libertie of the empire cause the 5520
 not

(*f. 88^b) *not to committe vice. He is not called onely free, that is free borne, but he that dyeth within the same. O how wel are the sclaues borne, that after their deth are fre by their goodnes? 7 how many haue dyed sclaues by their noughtynes, that were borne free? There is fredome where noblenes abyde. The prowes of thy persone shal giue the more hardines and libertie than thauuctoritie of thempire. It is a generall rule, that euery vertuous man of necessity is to be holden hardye: and euery vicious man of necessity is to be reputed a cowarde. Nowe boldly they be chaftised that be not noted with any vice, 7 coldly they be chaftised that deserue chaftisement. Lette a prince be in a certayn, that the loue of his people, and the libertie of his office, hath not wherewith to vpholde hym in armes spred abroad on the erth, without the dyuers vertues assembled in his persone.

¶ Certaynly Octavius Cesar subdewed mo nacions by the renoume of his vertues, than dydde Gaius his vncler with his army of many men. All the worlde ioy of a vertuous prince: 7 it semeth that all the world ryseth ageinst a vicious prince. Uertue is a strong castel, and can neuer be wonne: it is a riuer where nedeth no rowing, a fee that moueth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that neuer hath ende, an army neuer ouercom, a burden that neuer warieth, a spy that euer retourneth, a fygne that neuer deceyueth, a playn waye that neuer fayleth: a sirope that healeth forthwith: and a renoume that neuer perysheth. O my sonne if thou knewest what thinge it is to be good, and what a man thou shuldest be if thou were vertuous, thou woldest doo seruice to the goddis, good renoume to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frendes, and engendre loue of straungers, and finally all the worlde shulde fere and loue the.

(*f.89) ¶ *I remembre that in the boke of yeres, of the battaylle of Tarentyne, I founde that the renowmed Pyrrhus ⁵⁵⁵⁵ kynge of the Epyrothiens bare in a rynge grauen these wordes: To a vertuous man is but a smal rewarde to be lorde of all the erthe: and it is but a small chaftisement to take a vicious mans lyfe fro him.

Truely it was a worthy sentence of fuche a prince. What ⁵⁵⁶⁰ thinge is it, be it neuer so difficile, begonne by a vertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good ende therof. Sothly I haue fene in dyuers parties of myn empyre dyuers men very derke of good fame, very lowe in goodes, and vnknown of their kynne and bloud: vndertake so great ⁵⁵⁶⁵ thynges, that to my femyng was a fearefull audacitie to begynne: And yet by the wynges of vertue all onely they haue had good renoume at the laft. By the immortal goddis, and as god Jupiter bringe me into his mancion, and stablyfhe the in all that is myne, There were ones a gar- ⁵⁵⁷⁰ dyner and a potter whiche dwelled in Rome, And they onely by their vertues were caufe to putte out tenne vicious fenatours of the senate: and the firfte occafyon was for makynge a hedge of thorne, and a pottle whiche they wolde not paye them for the workemanshpy and labour. ⁵⁵⁷⁵ I tell it the my sonne, bycause that vice maketh the bolde perfone thoughtefull: and vertue causeth hym that is in thought to take strength and boldenes. I was well ware of two thinges in my lyfe: not to pleade ageinst the clerenes of iustice, nor to take part ageinst a vertuous person: ⁵⁵⁸⁰ For with vertue god susteyneth vs, and with Justice the people are gouerned.

¶ Of other more perticular councelles gyuen by the emperour to his sonne. Cap. xlvj.

Nowe

(*f. 89^b)*

Owe to come to thinges more perticular. Se-
 inge sonne that thou arte yonge, and that na-
 5585 ture can not denye the: And as in all difficyle
 thinges ripe counsell is necessarie, no lesse to
 comfort the state of our lyuing we desire some
 recreations. For thy youth I leue ȳ with gret lordes chil-
 dren, with whom thou mayst passe the tyme. And to teche
 5590 the I leue olde Romans that haue nourished the, and ser-
 ued me, of whom thou shalte take counsel. The inuētion
 of interludes of theatres, to fyfhe in pōdes, to hunt wyld
 beaſtis, to courſe in the feldeſ, to hauke for birdes, and to
 exercyſe dedes of armes, are the thynges that thy youthe
 5595 deſireth. And youth with youth ought to kepe companye
 in doinge the ſame: But beholde my ſon, that in ordering
 of armies, to applie the warres, to purſue victories, to ac-
 cept truce, to confirme peace, to reyle tributis, to make la-
 wes, to promote ſome, and diſmiſſe other, to chaſtyſe the
 5600 yl, and recompence the good: for counſel in all theſe thin-
 ges that be ſo chargeable, they that be of clere mynde, re-
 dy broken and trauayled of their bodies, and white hered
 ought to be takē. And ſith thou art yōge 7 luſty of body, re-
 ioyce 7 ſport with them that be yonge: 7 whā thou arte
 5605 emperour, in thy ſecretes take coucell of them that be old.
 Beware my ſonne of all extremities. For as yll maye the
 prince be vnder the colour of grauytie to be ruled by the
 auncient perſons, as vnder colour of paſtyme to kepe cō-
 companye with yonge folkes. It is no generall rule that all
 5610 yonge perſons ſhall always be yonge and lyght, nor that
 all olde perſons ſhulde be always wiſe. I am in ſuertie of
 one thinge, that if the yonge man be borne with folly, the
 olde man lyueth 7 dieth with couetiſe. Therefore my ſonne
 beware, be not extreme in extremities. For the yong peo-
 5615 ple wyll corrupt the with their lyghtneſ, and olde folkes
 wyll

(*f.90)*wyll depryue thy mynde with their couetoufnes. What thing can be more monstuous than a prince that cōmandeth euery man, to be commaunded of one. Sothely the gouernynge of diuers can not be gouerned well by the opinion of one alone, thā the prince that gouerneth many, ⁵⁶²⁰ oughte to haue the intention and opinion of dyuers.

¶ In the annales of the Pompeyens, I founde a lyttell boke of remembrance, the which the great Pompeie bare alway with hym: wherin were diuers good counceles and aduertifementis, the whiche were giuen in diuers partis ⁵⁶²⁵ of the worlde: Amonge the whiche I founde these wordes: He that gouerneth the common welthe, and putteth the gouernance to them that are old, sheweth hym self vn-able: and he that trusteth in youth is lyghte: and he that gouerneth by him selfe alone, is hardy and bolde: and he ⁵⁶³⁰ that gouerneth by him selfe and other is wise. These were notable wordes. Than my sonne determyne the to take counsaylle, and specially in hyghe thynges and difficyle matters, and otherwyse lette theym not be determyned. For whan the counsaylle is of dyuers taken, than if any ⁵⁶³⁵ faute be, it shal be deuided amonge them al. Though the determination myght be done by a fewe, yet take counsell of dyuers. Among all thy welthes, here the cōmon coun-celle. For one wyll shewe the al the inconuenience, an nother the perylle, an other the damage, an other the prou- ⁵⁶⁴⁰ fyttte, and an nother the remedye. And sette as well thyne eyes vppon the inconuenyentes that they laye, as vpon the remedye that they offre. Whan thou begynnest any harde mattier, esteme as welle the smalle damages that maye befall afore, and stoppe them, as to remedy the great ⁵⁶⁴⁵ mysfortunes that come after. Of trouthe the stronge and myghtye shyppe ofte tymes for a smalle takynge hede of the pylotte, is founken and drowned in a lyttelle water:
and

Aa. ii.

(*f. 90^b) *and an other shyppes not so stronge, with wife diligence is
 5650 laued in the gulfe of the see. Be not annoyed to take coun-
 cel in smal matters euery houre. For many thynges forth-
 with requireth to be looked to, and in abydinge for counsell
 it endomageth. And that thou canste dispatche by thyne
 owne auctoritie without damage of the cōmon welth, put
 5655 it not to any other person. For sith thy seruice all only de-
 pendeth of thyn, the reward dependeth of the alone.

¶ In the yere .vi. C. xxx. of the foundation of Rome, af-
 ter the cruell warres done ageinst the kinge of Numedie,
 the day that Marius triumphed, without puttyng of any
 5660 of the riches that he brought, into the cōmon treasure, he
 deuyded it to his men of warre. And whan he was ther-
 fore accused, and asked why he toke not firste the opinion
 of the senate: He aunswered and sayde: Sythe they take
 not the opinion of other to do me seruice, it were no reson
 5665 that I shoulde take counsell of other to rewarde and re-
 compence them.

¶ Son yet I wyll aduertise y of other thynges. Perad-
 uenture som wyll gyue the counsell er thou demande it: 7
 in that case kepe this generall rule: neuer abide the secōde
 5670 counsell of a man, if he haue giuen the counsell before in
 the preiudice of an other. For he offreth his wordes in thy
 seruice to bringe the belynes to his owne proufyte. O my
 sonne, there are many thynges to knowe a man. xv. yere
 I haue ben senatour, consule, censure, capitayne, and tri-
 5675 bune: and .xviii. yere I haue ben emperour of Rome, and
 diuers haue spoken to me in preiudice of other, and many
 mo for their owne profite, and none haue spoken clerely to
 me for the profite of other, nor for my seruice. Great com-
 passion ought to be taken of princis: for euerye man folo-
 5680 weth them for their owne profite, 7 none for loue and ser-
 uice. One counsell I toke for my selfe all the whyle that
 I haue

*f.91) *I haue gouerned in Rome: I neuer kepte manne in my hous after that I knewe hym hatefull agaynste the common welthe.

¶ In the yere of the foundation of Rome .vi. C. lix. of the Olympiade .C. lxvii. Lucullus Patricius, greate frende to Sylla, goynge to the warre of Metridates, It chanced that in Tygoano a citie of Caldiens, he found a plate of coper or brasse vpon the kynges gatis, wherin were certayne letters, whiche they sayd were grauen there by the commandement of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteynyng these sentences. That prince is not wyse, that wyll holde his lyfe in peryll: and wyll not assure his lyfe and state with the loue of al mē: That prince is not vertuous, that in giuing moche to one person, willeth all other to haue but lyttell: That prince is not iuste, that wyll satisfie more the couetise of one persone, thā to the vices of all men: That prince is a fole, that dispiseth the counsell of all other, and all onely trusteth vpon the opinion of one: And finally the prince is to bold and hardy, that for the loue of one, wyl be hated of al other. These were wordes of eternall memory. And in dede these princes shulde haue this always in theyr presence. Sonne yet I shal say more to the. This Lucullus Patricig brought into the Senate all the treasure that he hadde, and this plate with the sayde wordis theron, to thentent that they shoulde chuse the one and leaue the other. And the senate refused all the treasure, and toke the plate with the counselles written theron.

¶ Of dyuers and particular recommendations
whiche the emperour commaunded his
sonne. Cap. xlvii.

I haue

Aa. iii.

(*f. 91 b)

5710

*



Haue shewed lyke a father, the thyngie that
 toucheth thy welth: Nowe I wyl shewe the
 what thou oughtest to do after my dethe for
 my seruice. Those thynges that I haue lo-
 ued in my lyfe, if thou wilt be sonne to thy
 5715 father, esteeme them after my dethe. Firste my sonne I re-
 commend to the, the worlhyppyng of the temples, and
 the reuerence of the priestes, with the honour to the god-
 dis. So longe shall the honour of the Romainys laste, as
 they perceuer in the seruice of the goddis. The realme of
 5720 the Carthagenens perished not bicause they were not so
 riche or more cowardes than the Romainys: but bycause
 they loued their tresors to moche, 7 were but yll worlhypp-
 pers and louers of the temples. My sonne I recommend
 to the Helia thy stepmother, 7 remembre that though she
 5725 be not thyn owne mother, yet she is my wyfe: and on the
 payne of my curlyng suffre not that she be yl intreted. For
 the damage that she shuld suffre by thy cōsent, shuld gyue
 euidence of the smal thought that thou takest of my deth,
 which shulde be an iniury to thy life. I haue left to her the
 5730 tributes and reuenues of Hostie, for to maynteine her de-
 gre: and the gardens of Uulcan, which I caused to make
 for her recreatiō. And if thou take it fro her, thou shewest
 thyn ylnesse. And to suffre her to enioye it, I commaunde
 the by thyn obedience, and to shewe her thy bountie and
 5735 largesse. Remembre she is a Romain, yong, 7 a widow,
 of the hous of my lorde Traian, and how she is thy mo-
 ther adoptife, 7 my natural wyfe, wherfore I leue her vn-
 der thy recōmendation. Also I cōmyt to the thy bretherne
 in law: 7 thy sisters my daughters I leue them al married,
 5740 not with strāge kinges, but with the natural inhabitātis
 and citetins of Rome. They dwell al within the walles of
 Rome, where as they may do the seruice. and thou mayst
 do them

(*f.92) *do thē good. Son intrete them in fuche wife, that though their good father be dead, yet let them haue fauour. And though they fe their brother emperour of Rome, yet let thē 5745 not be defouled. Womē be of a right tēder condicion, they wyll complayne for a smalle caufe, and for leffe they wyll rife vp in pride. Thou oughteft to conferue them after my dethe, as I haue done in my life. For otherwife their conuerfation fhulde be fekyll to the people, and importunate 5750 to the. Alfo I cōmit to the Lipula thy fifter, that is amōge the virgins Ueftales, Thinke that ſhe is doughter of thy mother Fauſtin, whiche I haue greatly loued in my life, 7 vnto the houre of my deth I haue lamēted hers. Euery yere I gaue to thy fifter .ii. M. ſexters for her neceſſities: 5755 ſhe had ben as well maryed as the other, if ſhe had not be brent in the viſage: whiche was eſtemed of euery man an yl aduenture, and ſpecially of her mother, that wept alway for her. But I eſteme that ylle aduenture a good fortune. For if ſhe had not ben brent in the face with fire, ſhe had in 5760 the worlde as touching her renoume be brent with diuers tonges. Son I ſwere to the, that for the ſeruice of ꝑ god-diſ, 7 the fame of men, ſhe is more ſurer with the virgins in the temple, than though ſhe were in the ſenate with the ſenatours. I deme that at the ende of the iourney ſhe ſhal 5765 finde her ſelfe better at eaſe cloſed and locked in, thā thou with all thy libertie. In the prouince of Lucany, I haue leſte for her the .ii. M. ſexters: I wyll not that thou take them fro her. Alfo I cōmytte Drufia the wydowe to the, which hath layd a gret proces ageinſt the ſenate, bicauſe ꝑ 5770 by motiōs afore paſſed her huſbād was baniſhed: I haue great compaſſion of her: for it is thre monethes ſithe ſhe put in her demaunde: and bycauſe of my great warres I coude not declare her iuſtyce. Sonne thou ſhalt fynde hit trewe, that in .xxxv. yere, that I haue gouerned Rome, 5775 there

(*f. 92^b) *there was neuer widowe that helde her proceffe before me
 passynge .viii. dayes. Take compassion of such. For wo-
 mens necessities are righte peryllous: and at the laste yf
 their beines be longe in hande, they recouer not so moche
 5780 of their goodes, as they lese in their renowme. Also haue
 compassyon of poore men, and the goddis shall rewarde
 the with great ryches. Also I commytte to the my aunci-
 ent seruantes, to whom my longe yeres and cruel warres
 my often necessities, the displeasure of my body, and my
 5785 longe syckenes hath ben ryghte paynfulle. For they as
 true seruantes to gyue me lyfe haue taken payne vnto the
 dethe. It is reason that fyth I haue taken their deth, that
 they enherite parte of my lyfe. One thing I holde for cer-
 tayne, In case that my bodye abyde in the sepulchre with
 5790 wormes, yet I shall alwayes before the goddis haue re-
 membraunce of them, In this doinge thou shalt do as a
 good childe, to satisfie them that haue serued thy father.
 Take hede my son, euery prince doing Justice acquireth
 ennemies in the execution therof. And this is done by thē
 5795 that are mooste nere to hym. For the more priuie they are
 with the prince, the more hatefuller they are to the people.
 And though euery mā loueth Iustice in generall, yet they
 all hate the execution therof in particular. Whan a iuste
 prince is deade, the people take vengeance of the vniuste
 5800 seruantis. Whan thou were a chylde, my seruantis nory-
 shed the, to the entent that thou shuldest susteyne them in
 their age. Surely it were great shame to the empire, and
 offence to the goddis, an iniurie to me, and an vngentyl-
 nes of the, that thou haste founde them .xviii. yeres with
 5805 their armes abrode to halfe the, that they shuld finde one
 day thy gates shet ageinst thē. These thynges I comyt to ŷ
 pticularly, kepe them alway in memorie. And siþe ŷ I re-
 mēbre thē at my deth, confyder how I loued thē in my life.

Of

(*f. 93) *¶ Of the laſte wordis that the emperour ſpake to his ſonne, 7 of a table that he gaue hym. Ca. xlviij.



When the emperour had ended his ſayde reco-
mmendations [sic], the day began to ſpringe, and ⁵⁸¹⁰
his eie ſtringes began to breke, and his tonge
faultred, and his handes ſhoke. Thā the ſayd
happy emperour, felynge that weakenes be-
gan fore to drawe about his herte, he commanded Panu-
tius to go into his ſtudy, and to bring to him a coffre that ⁵⁸¹⁵
was there. And whan it was broughte to his preſence, he
opened hit, and toke oute a table of thre fote broode, and
two fote longe, it was of wood Lybanus, 7 rounde about
garnyſhed with vnicorne. It was cloſed with two leaues
ſubtylly wrought of a reed wood, that ſome ſayd was of ſy ⁵⁸²⁰
tree that the Phenyx bredeth in: and is callid Rafyn. And
as there is but one byrde Phenix breedinge in Arabye: ſo
lykewiſe there is no moo trees in the worlde of the ſame
kynde. On one of the outwarde parties of the table was
pyctured and grauen the god Jupyter, on the other the ⁵⁸²⁵
goddeſſe Uenus: In the inward parties of the table that
ſhette, was pictured god Mars and the goddeſſe Ceres:
In the principall of the ſayd table was pictured a Bulle
ſubtylly wroughte to the quicke, and vnder that a kyng
was pyctured. The whiche payntures were ſayd to be of ⁵⁸³⁰
the handy warke of the expert Appelles an ancient worke
man in payntinge. Than the emperour toke the table in
his hande, and with great peyne, he ſayd: Thou ſeeſt my
ſonne Comodus, howe I am all redy ſcaped fro the trap-
pes of fortune, and am enterynge into the heuye aduen- ⁵⁸³⁵
tures of dethe. I wote not why the goddis haue created
vs, ſith there is ſo great annoyance in our lyfe, 7 ſo great
peryll at our deathe. I vnderſtande not why the goddis
haue

(*f. 93^b) *haue and vfe so great crueltie to the creatures. Lxii. yere
 5840 I haue fayled with great trauayle through the great per-
 rilles of this lyfe: and at this houre I am commaunded
 to take lande and discharge me of my fleffhe, and to take
 erthe in the sepulchre. Nowe vntyeth the lyuely thredes,
 nowe vndothe the spyndell, nowe ryueth the webbe, nowe
 5845 endeth my lyfe. Nowe am I awaked frome the flepyng
 euyll: Remembryng howe I haue passed my lyfe, I haue
 no more desire to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche
 way to go, I refuse dethe. What shall I do? I am deter-
 myned to put me into the handis of the goddis wylling-
 5850 lye, fythe I must do so of necessite. Whome I require, if
 they haue created me for any goodnes, not to depriue me
 fro them for my demerites. I am nowe in the laste gate:
 and to this houre I haue kepte the greatest and most ex-
 cellent iewell that I coude fynde in all my lyfe. In the .x.
 5855 yere of myn empire there arose a warre agaynst the Par-
 thes: wherfore I determyned in myne owne persone to
 gyue them batayle. After that warre I came by the aun-
 cient citie of Thebes for to se some antiquitie: among the
 whiche in a priestes house I founde this table, the whiche
 5860 as a kynge was reysed in Egypte, incontynent it was e-
 uer hanged at his beddis heed, and this priest shewed me,
 that it was made by a kyng in Egipte named Ptholomee
 Arfacides, that was a vertuous prince. And in the memo-
 rie of hym, and example of other, the priestis kept it dili-
 5865 gently. And sonne I haue kepte it alway with me: and I
 beseeche the goddis, that suche may be thy werkes, as ther-
 in thou mayste fynde good counsell. As emperour I leue
 the heyre of manye countreyes and realmes: and as thy
 father I do gyue vnto the this table of counfaylles. Let
 5870 this be the laste worde, that with the Empyre thou shalte
 be feared, and by this table thou shalte be beloued.

This

(*f.94)*This fayde, and the table delyuered to his sonne, the emperour tourned his eyen: 7 within a quarter of an houre he yelded the spirite.

¶ Nowe to retourne to the fayde table 7 writyng. There ⁵⁸⁷⁵ was written betwene the bulle and the kynge a scrowe in Greke letters, in maner of heroicall verses, conteynyng in our vulgar tongue thus: I neuer chose ryche tyrant, nor abhorred the poore iuste man: I neuer denied iustice to a poore manne for his pouertie, nor pardoned a ryche ⁵⁸⁸⁰ man for his greate goodes and rycheffe: I neuer dydde, good dedes, nor neuer gaue hyre for affection, nor gaue correction onely for the peyne. I neuer lefte ylnesse vnchaftyfed, nor goodnesse without rewarde. I neuer commytted an nother to do iustyce that was clere, nor darke ⁵⁸⁸⁵ iustyce I neuer determyned by my selfe alone. I dydde neuer denye iustyce to theym that demaunded it, nor mercye vnto hym that deserued it: I neuer dyd correction for angre, nor promysed any rewarde in my myrthe: I was neuer charged with thoughtes in my prosperitie, nor di- ⁵⁸⁹⁰ spayred in myn aduersitie: I neuer committed yll by mallice, nor any villanye for auaryce: I neuer opened my gates to flatterars nor dissemblers, nor lystned myne eares to murmurers: I haue laboured always to be loued of theym that be good, and to be dredde and fered of them ⁵⁸⁹⁵ that be ylle: And fynally I haue fauoured the poore, that myghte do but lyttell, and haue ben fauoured of the goddes that may do moche.

¶ Hytherto is shewed brefely the worthye and laudable lyfe of the emperour Marcq Aurelius, and of his deathe.
And here after ensueth the seconde parte of this boke.

A letter

(*f. 94^b)

¶ A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to Pyramon
his speciall frende. Capitu. xlix.

¶ The firste letter.



Arke oratour Romain, borne at mounte
Celio to Pyramon of Lyon, my greate
frende, desiringe salutation to thy per-
son, and strēgth and vertue ageinst thy
finister fortune. In the thirde kalendes
of Januarie I receyued thy letter, wher
by I perceyue thou hast receyued one of
myn, I set smal store by thy wordes, but I esteeme greatly
what thou meaneest by them. So that without declaryng
therof, I haue gadred the sentence. Reason wold bycause
I haue writen so often to the, that thou shuldest the better
vnderstande me: but thou arte so slouthfull, that though
I call the, thou wylte not here: nor though I stryke the
thou wylte not feelee. Nowe vnto comme to the pourpose,
thou knowest welle Piramon howe nere we be in paren-
tage, aunciente in frendeshyppe, stedfaste in loue, and
tender of hartis: and whan so euer thou puttest in expe-
rience, that one true frende shulde proue an other. Thou
remembreest wel, whan we were at Rodes, that we dwelled
to gyther in one house, and dyd eate at one table, and all
that thou thoughtest I dyd it in effecte: and that I sayd,
thou neuer gaynsaydest. Certaynly thou were in my hart,
and I in thyn entrayles: I was thyn, 7 thou were myne.
We beinge to gither, hit semed to all other, that we were
but one, and of one wyll. What is it my frende Piramon.
Thou wrytest, how thou arte heuy, and yet thou doest not
shewe the cause why: thou complayneest y^e thou art almost
deed, and thou shewest me not who taketh thy life fro the.
If thou wylt not shewe to me thyn yll destenies, sith thou
arte

(*f.95)*arte my frende, I wyll thou knowe, that I demaunde it of right, if thou wylte not, I wyl that thou know, that y^e pitiefull goddis haue determynd, that all pleasures and profyte shall departe fro my houle: and that all heynes and domages shall be regystred in my persone. Sythe I am prince of all honour, beinge in tribulation, yf thou woldest, thou canste not scape out of my feignourie. For if thou complayne, that thou arte vnhappy in fortune, thā I esteeme my selfe to be happy in vnhappynesse. I demāde one thyng of the. Whan haste thou sene me haue sufficient, and thou nede? Whan haste thou sene me slepe, and thou wake? and whan hast thou trauayled and I rested? Of trouth sith the goodes and persones are theyr owne propre, the trauayles and yl aduentures are always common. One thyng thou oughtest to knowe, if in myne amitie thou wylte perceuer, that all my goodes are thyne, and all thyn euylles are myn, syth thou arte borne to lyue easlyly, and to be gentilly ordred and entreated, and I do lyue for to trauayle. I saye not this faynyngely: for thou haste hadde experience of me, that whan Jamaria thy syster dyed, that was no lesse vertuous than fayre, thou sawest wel whan she was buried deed, I was buried quick: and at the sowne of my teares thyn eies daunced. Sithe thou holdest sliche suretie of my person, surely thou maist discouer to me thy payne. Yet as often as I haue demanded it, there hath not fayned reasons fayled in the. I require the, and desyre the agayne, and in the name of the goddis I pray the, and in their names I coniure the, that thou dispose all thy sorowes into myn entrayles. For the waye that thou goest I wyll not leaue one pace to go fro the same: if thou go, I wyll go, if thou rest, I wyl reste: yf thou worke, I wyll worke: if thou leaue of, I wyll do the same: if thou wylt dye, thou knowest well, I wyl not lyue

(*f. 95^b) *lyue. Regarde frende what thou wylt do. For thyn euyls and myn, tourment bothe one harte. If thou haue disple-
 fure, all thynges displease me: if thou wepe, I fweare fro
 hensforthe neuer to laughe: if thou discharge the of thy
 5965 peyne, fro hens forth, I shall take it for myne: if thou go
 alone, I wyll forsake company, and forthwith lyue soly-
 tarily. What wylte thou that I shulde desire? For al that
 euer thou wylte I wyll. Thou complaynest, that in al thy
 trauayles thou canst fynde no parent to remedye the, nor
 5970 frende to counsell the. I fwere to the my frende Pyramō,
 that of these two thynges I haue as moche pouertie in
 my hous as thou haste forowe in thyn. I knowe well the
 remedy shulde come by ryches, 7 by counsell, and consol-
 ation of theym that be wise. And by reason of my heuy de-
 5975 stenies, flouth hath takē fro me the knowlege of wisdom:
 and fortune wyll not permytte me to haue great rycheffe.
 Certaynely I wepe for thy myserie, and yet there is but
 smalle remedye in me. Thou sayest in thy letter, that thy
 neighbours and frendes in promisyng, haue behight the
 5980 many thinges: but in gyuyng they do nothyng. Hereof
 I meruaylle: For the vertuous hande is not bounde to
 make the tonge a fole. Truly though our fete daūce, our
 handes shulde werke at the sowne of the tongue: our lyfe
 endeth in fewe days, and our renoume in fewer. Promys
 5985 is an auncient custome among the sonnes of vanitie, and
 of custome the tonge speketh hastily, 7 the handes worke
 at leysure. Nowe let vs speke more particularly.

☞ Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou fyndest
 not but in a fewe, that dyuers haue founde in the alone.
 5990 Custome is to receyue forthewith and merily, and to giue
 slowely with ylle wyll and repentaunce. They that be
 presumptuous do the one, and they whiche be flouthfull
 doo the other. The Grekes saye: that he that promyseth
 and is

(*f.96)*and is longe in fulfyllynge, is but a slacke frēde. We Ro-
 mayns say, that he is moch better that denieth forthwith, ⁵⁹⁹⁵
 bycause he wyll not begyle him that asketh. In this case
 I say: He that may gyue and gyueth not, is a clere enne-
 mie: and he that promifeth forthwith, and is longe or he
 do it, is but a suspecious frēde. What nede wordes to our
 frēdes, whā we may succour them with workes? Is it not ⁶⁰⁰⁰
 right, to whom we giue our hartis, ŷ which is ŷ best thing
 within vs, that we giue him our tonge, that is the worst
 thyng of all our vices? In good sothe the goddis wyll
 not suffre in the place of amitie, to desire any thyng of our
 frende in hafte, that he dryue it of with longe delayinge. ⁶⁰⁰⁵
 Plato in his lawes sayth: We cōmande, that in our go-
 uernyng that politicke counsaile be gyuen to them, that
 be in prosperitie, to thentent that they decay not: 7 to suc-
 cour them that be in heuynes and trouble, to thētent that
 they dispaire not. Certaynly vnder these wordes are com ⁶⁰¹⁰
 prised dyuers great sentēces. Thou knowest wel my frend
 Piramō, that swete wordes comfort the hart but litel that
 is in tribulation, but if there be somme good workes ther-
 with. I wyl not denie, but that they to whom we haue gi-
 uen oure good wylls in the tyme of our prosperytie, be ⁶⁰¹⁵
 bounde to gyue vs of their goodes, 7 to shewe vs fauour
 in our aduerfite. I demande one thinge of the: Wherefore
 holdest thou it a presumptuous lycence to demande? And
 reproveft on the other part the libertie of denieng. Truly
 as there is shame in the demādinge, there is obligation in ⁶⁰²⁰
 some thing to deny: an importunate mā is not worthy to
 haue mercy. Thou maiste knowe, if thou know it not my
 frēd Piramō, that to attain to euery thing ŷ is demāded,
 belongeth only to the goddis. To giue euery thing ŷ is de
 māded is no signe of any seruāt. And to deny any thing is ⁶⁰²⁵
 of liberte. To wepe for ŷ is denied is the cōditiō of tirātis:

And

(*f. 96 b) *And to conne no thanke for that is gyuen, is the condition of the Barbariens: and to haue euer a stedfast hope of that is denyed, is the guyle of the Romaynes. One of
 6030 these thinges, wherin Gayus Cesar shewed him selfe to be of hygh courage was, that he had moste greattest ioye whan the senate refused any thyng desired by hym. Oftentymes he sayde: There is nothyng wherin Rome giuethe me more glorye and renowme to my persone, than
 6035 whan I shewe my selfe moste hafty to demaunde, 7 they moste styffe to denye me: to thentent that after they shuld knowe what is my power to abyde, and howe lyttel theyr strength is to resist. Me thinke it is better to haue recourse to the goddis with vertues, than to displease them with
 6040 quarells. And to gyue contentation to thy reposed wyll, whan thou seest thy selfe in tribulation, and that thou demaundest of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a right measure, and to paye it in a right balaunce, the greate quantitie that hath bene
 6045 giuen to the, and the lyttell quantitie that hath be graunted the. O howe vncourteyse be we to the goddis, and of smalle remembraunce to men, whan we mynishe with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lytel that hath ben refused vs, we augment it with complayntes.
 6050 Frende Pyramon, I am begyled if thou be not fyfty yeres of age, and all that season thou hast done nothyng but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that I haue nat sene the do one day of seruice. Certaynly it is no reson to complayne of .viii. dayes of yll fortune, beinge fiftie yeres of
 6055 age. Thou sayst in thy letter, howe thou hast moch peyn, bycause thou knowest all thy neighbours to be enuious. By good soth I haue payne for thy payne, and of thy meruayling I haue great meruayle. For al admiration procedeth but by surmountyng of ignorance, and faulte of experi-

(*f. 97) *experience. Doth the quicke vnderstandyng of men rule ⁶⁰⁶⁰
 the lyfe of thē that be mortal, that they nede not to thinke
 of the trauayle to come, hauyng in their handes hafty re-
 medy? If they be hungrye, they may eate, whan they are
 colde, they may warme theym: if they be flepy, they may
 flepe: whan they be wery, they may rest: Whan they are ⁶⁰⁶⁵
 sycke, they may be healed: whan they are heuy, they maye
 reioyce, in suche maner, that the thoughtfull lyfe passeth,
 some to make tyltes and lyfites, some to make armure and
 scaffoldes, some to inuent newe gynnes, and some to re-
 payre bulwarkes. I say the world 7 the fleshe do nought ⁶⁰⁷⁰
 els but fyghte ageynste vs, and we haue nede at all times
 to defende vs fro them. All these remedies are against the
 trauayle of the fleshe. But what shall we do, that the cur-
 sednes of enuy extende not amonge all these? Cursed is
 that welthe, that euery man enuieth. Certainly ageynste ⁶⁰⁷⁵
 enuy no fortresse can defend, nor caue to hide, nor hye hill
 to mount on, nor thicke wodde to shadowe in, nor shyppe
 to scape in, nor hors to beare away, nor money to redeme
 vs. Enuy is so venymous a serpent, that there was neuer
 mortall man amonge mortalles, that coude scape fro the ⁶⁰⁸⁰
 bytynge of her tothe, and scratchyng of her nayles, foy-
 lunge of her fete, and poyfonyng of her poyfon. I swere
 to the my frend Pyramon, that such as fortune lyfteth vp
 with great ryches, she full of crueltie gyueth theym pro-
 founde bytynges. Enuie is so enuious, that to them, that ⁶⁰⁸⁵
 of her are mooste denied, and sette fardest of, she gyueth
 mooste cruell strokes with her fete. This vnhappye enuye
 prepaireth poyfon secretly for them that be in rest amōge
 dyuers pleasures.

¶ I haue redde dyuers bokes of Hebrewe, Greke, La- ⁶⁰⁹⁰
 tyn, and Caldee: And also I haue spoken with many very
 wise men, to se if there might be foude any remedy ageynst

an

(*f. 97^b) *an enuious man. I confesse the trouth: Rede all that can be redde, and imagine all that can be, demaunde all that
 6095 can be demaunded, and ye shall fynde none other cure ageinst this cursed enuie, but to banyfhe vs fro all prosperitie, and to lyt with aduerse fortune. O howe vnhappy are they that be in prosperitie: for iustly they that be sette vp in hygh estates, can not flee fro the perylle of Scilla
 6100 without fallynge into Charibdis. They can not scape the peryl, without castyng their treasours into the see. I saye that the malady of enuie wyl not suffre them to scape fro dethe: and the medicine that is applied to them, wyl not assure their lyfe. I can not determyne me, whiche is the
 6105 beste, (or to say more properly the worste) extreme myserie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperite, that is alwayes thretnd to falle. In this case to be so extreme I wyl not determin me, sith in the one is a perillous lyfe, and in the other renoume is sure.

6110 ¶ I shall tell the, what wife Cicero sayde, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde ye Romaines, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so ylle to saye the trouthe always, nor always to make lyes. I am certain, that ye bere me none enuie, for that I am not as ye be, but
 6115 it is bicause ye can not be as I am: In this case I had rather that myn ennemies had enuy at my prosperitie, than my frendes at my pouertie.

¶ This oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leuyng to gyue remedy to them that be sorrowful. And after this Cicero had sene the felde of Farfalye, he toke other counsell and remedy, suche as pleased hym in Rome. For if Cesar had granted him his goodis, yet y turned not his credēce and renoume. Surely frend
 6120 Pyramō I wote no remedy to gyue the ageinst enuy, sith thou seest al the world ful therof. we se how we be the sons
 of

(*f. 98) *of enuie, and we liue with enuie, 7 die with enuy: 7 he that leueth moſt riches, leueth the greteſt enuie. The auncient wiſe men couſeled rich men, that they ſhuld not haue pore folkes nere them: 7 they admoniſhed the poore, that they ſhulde not dwell nere to the ryche. And trewely it is good ⁶¹³⁰ reaſon. For richeſſe of ryche men is the ſede of enuie to y^e poore. And that for the poore lacketh, and the riche hathe to moche, cauſeth diſcord amōge the people. I ſwere by y^e goddis immortal frend Piramon, though they that be yll wold y^e I ſhulde ſwere falſely, as moch as riches without ⁶¹³⁵ thought noriſheth couetiſe, ſo moch the enuiouſ noriſheth enuy therby. I counſaile the one thing, 7 that is, that it is no good counſell to flee enuie, and to auoide the vertu cōtrarie to the ſame. Homer ſaith, y^e in his tyme there were two Grekes extreme in all extremities: The one was ex- ⁶¹⁴⁰ treme in riches, 7 therfore he was perfecuted by enuie, 7 y^e was Achilles: 7 the other was fore noted of malice, but no man had enuie at him, and that was Thieſtes. Certainly I had leuer be Achilles with his enuy, thā Thieſtes with out it. Thou knoweſt well, that we Romaynes ſerche not ⁶¹⁴⁵ but for reſte in our lyfe, and for honour after dethe. And ſithe it is ſo, it is not poſſible but the man that euery man enuieth his renoume ought to be exalted in the reſt of his lyfe. And ſithe I ſee theſe two thynges in the, ſuche as be thy frendes taketh lytell thought, for that thyn ennemies ⁶¹⁵⁰ murmure agaynſt the. Thou wryteſt to me, howe they of Lyons do well, and are merye, excepte thy ſelfe, that arte heuy, and full of penſyuenes. And ſith they ſhewe not to haue pleaſure [sic] at thy diſpleaſure, ſhewe not thy ſelfe diſpleaſed with their pleaſure. For it may chaunce one daye ⁶¹⁵⁵ they ſhall be ſorowfulle, whan thou arte merye: Thanne thou ſhalte be quite with theym. In an ylle perſone there can be no greter euyll, nor in a good man a greater faute, than

Cc. ii.

(*f. 98^b) *than to be displeased with an nother mans welthe, and to
 6160 take pleasure at an other mans harme. And in case that
 all do vs damage with enuie, yet moche more a frend thā
 the enmie. For of myn enmie I wyl be ware, and for fere
 he wyl withdrawe: but a frende with his amitie may be-
 gyle me, and I by my fidelitie shal not perceyue. Among
 6165 all mortall ennemies there is none wors than a frend that
 is enuious of my felicitie. Pyramon my frende, I wylle
 conclude, if thou wylt withdrawe thy selfe fro ennemies,
 than kepe company with thyn owne familiar frendes. I
 wote not what to write more to the, but with all my harte
 6170 I lamente thy heuynesse. Thou knowest howe thy niece
 Brufia was slayn with a dagger by her owne husbande,
 I had great compaffion for her deth, and for the renoume
 that she lefte behynde her. Flauius Priscus thyn vncke is
 newly made Censure. The proceffe betwene thy brother
 6175 Fornion and Britio is determynd by the senate: and hit
 pleaseth me righte welle, that they be frendes, and euerye
 man well content. The booke intytuled the consolacion of
 heuynes I haue ended, and layd it in the Capitol. I haue
 writen it in Greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not
 6180 to the. But I do sende the a ryche swerde, and a fayre gir-
 dell. Faustyne my wyfe dothe salute the, and sendeth thy
 wyfe two sclaues. The goddis be my keepers, and comfort
 the in thy present heuynesse. Marke the man fortunate, to
 Pyramon fore discomforted.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Cor-
 nelius of the trauayle of warre, and
 vanitie of triumph.

¶ The seconde letter.

Marke

(*f. 99)*



Arke emperour of Rome to the Corne- 6185
 lius my faythefull frende, salute to thy
 perfone, and good fortune to thy desy-
 red lyfe. As thou in tymes passed halte
 ben perteyner of my traueyles, I haue
 sente to calle the to gyue the pleasure of 6190
 my triumphes. By the haboundance of
 rycheffe, diuerfitie of captiues, fierfnes of capitayns that
 we haue brought to Rome, thou mayst perceyue what pe-
 rils we haue suffred in this warre. The Parthes ar good
 men of warre: and as euery man findeth in their owne lōd 6195
 defendeth their houfes with stronge hert: and surely they
 do lyke good men. For without reason we dye of affection
 to take other mens goodes: and they with refon do labor
 to defende that is their owne. Lette no man take enuie at
 the Romain capitayn, for any triumph that is giuen him 6200
 by his mother Rome: For for one daye of honour, he is a
 M. dayes in dispaire of his lyfe. I wyll not speake that
 I myght say of them that be in warre, and dwel in Rome,
 ben cruel iuges of their owne fame. And sith that the pro-
 pre renoume of a man lyeth in other folkes tongues, it is 6205
 not sayde bycause his perfone hath meryted, but bycause
 that they do shewe their enuie. But our foolysshenes is so
 folyfhe, and the reputation of men so vayne, that for one
 vayne worde, more than for our profytte, we put our lyfe
 in daunger, and lay our honour to guage [sic] with trauayle, 6210
 rather than to lyue, and to assure our renoume with reste.
 I sweare by the goddis immortall, that the day of my tri-
 umph being in the chariot, I was as penfuiue as I myght
 be. O Rome curfed be thy folly, 7 wo be to hym that hathe
 brought vp in the so moche pryde. And curfed be he that 6215
 hath inuented so greatte pompe in the. What greater or
 more vnegall lyghtnes can be, than that a Romaine ca-
 pitayn

Cc. ii. [sic]

(*f. 99^b) *pitayne, bicause he hath conquered realmes, altered peafibles, distroyed cities, caste downe fortresses, robbed the
6220 poore, enryched tirantes, shedde moche bloode, and made infinite wydowes, shulde for recompence of all these damages be receyued with great triumph? where hast thou sene a greater foly? Infinite nōbre is distroyed in warre, 7 one alone shal bere away the glorie therof. And though
6225 such miserable conquerours merited not to be buried, yet went I through the stretes of Rome. By the immortalle goddis (as a secrete betwene the and me, that whan the chariotte triumphalle came, and the vnhappy prisoners charged with irons: and I remembringe the infinite treasures yll gotten, and heryng lamentations of the widowes sorowfully wepinge for the dethe of their husbandes, and the remembrance of our manyfolde frēdes deed. [sic] though I reioyced me openly, I wepte dropes of blood secretly. I can not tell what persone taketh pleasure in
6235 hym self of an other mans damage. In this case I praise not the Affiriens, nor I enuy not the Persians, nor am content with the Lacedemoniens, nor approue the Caldeens, nor content me with the Grekes: I curse the Troyans, 7 condempne them of Carthage, bycause they folowed not
6240 the zeale of Iustice, but what they dyd in their tyme was with rage of pryde, wherby they and their realmes were broughte into sleaude, and was occasion to lese vs. O cursed Rome, cursed thou hast ben, and cursed thou shalt be. For if the fatal destenies deceyue me not, 7 myn vnder-
6245 stondynge fayle me not, and that fortune holde not false, we shall se in tyme to come, Rome shall be in lyke case as other realmes be nowe in our dayes. And where as nowe with tyranny thou arte lady ouer all feignouries, it shall comme by Iustice, that thou shalt tourne to be bounde
6250 to theym that are nowe vnder thy bondage. O ylle fortunate

(*f. 100) *nate Rome: I say it bycause that vertue is so dere in the, and makest folye soo greatte cheape. Peradventure thou arte more autentike than Babylon, fayrer than Hely, rycher than Carthage, stronger than Troy, better peopled thanne Thebes, more stored with shyppes than Corinth, ⁶²⁵⁵ more delicious than Thyre, more inexpugnable than Aquilie, more happy than Numance: we see howe they all are peryshed, for all their vertues and valyāt defenders, and thou hopest to abyde perpetually stored with them y be vicious, and peopled with suche as be full of vyce. O ⁶²⁶⁰ Rome marke this for certayne, that the glorie that thou hafte at this houre was first theirs: and that distruction that nowe is theirs, hereafter shal be thyn. My dere frēde Cornelius, shall I shewe the, the losse of the Romaine people, but I can not tell it the without wepynge? I the ⁶²⁶⁵ emperour of Rome commaunde, I make decrees for the warre (if any countreye aryse) by sownynge of a trompette to make menne to reyse theyr baners, and to create newe Capytaynes: And hit is a thyng very euydent to see, that whan they reyse their standerdes, and haue leue ⁶²⁷⁰ to make and affaylle ennemyes, chyltern leaue their mothers, Studentes leaue theyr scholes, seruauntes forsake theyr maysters, and offycers their offyces, to the entente that vnder the colour and crafte of goinge to warre they shoulde not by [sic] chaftyed by Iustyce: They haue no feare ⁶²⁷⁵ of the goddis, nor reuerence to the Temples, nor obedience to theyr fathers, nor loue nor awe of the people, and loue to lyue ydelly, and hate iuste labour, and theyr exercyses are domageable: Somme do robbe the churches, somme make quarelles and stryues, and somme breake ⁶²⁸⁰ gates open and beare the goodes awaye, sometyme they take theym that be at lybertie, and delyuer theym that shulde be prysoners: They passe the nyghtes in playes, and

(*f. 100^b) *and the days in blasphemcs: Finally they ar vnfete to do
 6285 wel: 7 are holly difpofed to do yl. What fhall I fay of their
 negligence? I am afhamed to write it. They leaue their
 owne wyues and take other mens, They dyfhonour the
 daughters of honefte men, and begyle yonge maydens,
 They enforce their hofteffes, and neyghbours wyues:
 6290 and worfte of all, the women that do go with theym, fette
 them agog that doo tarye. And fo in this maner none of
 thefe women that fo go fcapeth without loffe of honour,
 and the other ar ftriken with vices in their hartis bicaufe
 they tarie. Thinke furely Cornelius, that the entreprifes
 6295 are fmalle, where as women doo go to warre. Thou kno-
 weft, that the women Amazones haue made greter warre
 in Grece, than the cruelle ennemies, and not for bycaufe
 they had not men ynowe, but bycaufe they were fo many
 women. Pyrrhus was ouercome by Alexander, The va-
 6300 lyant capitayne Hanyball was lorde of Italy, as long as
 he fuffred no women to come in his warres. And whan he
 was enamoured of a faire yonge damoyfell of Capue, he
 was fayne forthwith to turne his backe to Rome, bycaufe
 Rome clenfed the feld fro lecherie. For the fame caufe Nu-
 6305 mancie was cafte to the erthe. And I my felfe haue fene in
 the warre of the Parthes .xvii. M. horfemen .lxxx. M.
 fote men, and .xxxv. M. women. And our befynes wente
 fo, that fro our hofte I fent awaye Fauftine my wyfe, and
 fo dyd other fenatours their wyues home to their houfes,
 6310 to he [sic] entent that they fhulde ferue them that were olde, 7
 brynge vp their chylderne. The daye that a Patrician is
 approued by the Senate, and ledde aboute Rome by the
 Confules, the egle is hanged at his brest, and his raymēt
 is reade, and he after ryfeth in fuche pride, that he remem-
 6315 breth not the pouertie of the tyme paffed, but thynkethe
 to be emperour of Rome forthwith. Beholde than what
 they

(*f. 101) *they do. They writh their berdes, 7 ruffle their heres, boyftous their wordis, they change their clothes, 7 roll their eyen that they may feeme the fiercer. And finallye they loue to be feared, and hate to be loued. And wotteft thou ⁶³²⁰ not that they wyll be feared? On a day beinge at Pentalpolyn, a capitayne of myn, not feing me, yet I hard him fweare and blafpheme, fayinge to a woman his hofteffe: ye villaynous people wyll not knowe the capitaynes of warre: I wyll thou knoweft mother that the erthe neuer ⁶³²⁵ trembleth, but whan it is thret of a capitayne Romaine: and god neuer caufeth the fon to fhynne but there as we be obeyed. But nowe frende Cornelius fith I haue blafoned his vaunt, harken his vertue and worthynes. I fwere to the, that the fayde capitayne for all his bofte, beinge in a ⁶³³⁰ cruel batayle, was the first alone, that fled fro the batayl, and lefte the ftanderde, wherin he dydde inough to caufe me lofe the feld. But whan it was done, I caufed to ftrike of his heed. It is an infallyble rule, that they that fhewe them felfe moft fierceft, in effecte are moft cowardes. ⁶³³⁵

¶ In dyuers bookes I haue redde, and of dyuers I haue herde, and in many I haue feene, that hit canne not fayle in a man fufferynge and pacient, to haue vertue and force: And it is meruayle that he is ftronge and valyant, that can not fuffre. What fhall I faye more of thefe gre- ⁶³⁴⁰ ues and domages, that thefe men of warre do in paffing through realmes, and of theftes and robberies that they doo in the houfes, where as they lodge? I enfore the, the worme in tymbre, nor the mothes in the clothes, nor the fparcle in the towe, nor the darnell amonge the corne, nor ⁶³⁴⁵ the wefell amonge the grayn, nor the caterpyllers in fruit trees, dothe fo moche damage, as one companye of men of warre dothe amonge the poore people. They leaue no cattayle vnflayne, no gardeyne vnrobbed, no wyld beeft vncha-

(*f. 101^b) 6350 *chafed, nor no mayde vndefloured: and yet that wors is,
they eate without payment, and they wyl not serue with-
out payment: nor no man can conuerse and endure amōg
them. Whan they ar payed, by and by they play it away:
if they be not payed, they robbe and grudge. And the case
6355 is come to so great corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou
woldest saye, that eche of them were the heed of rumour,
and the begynninge of stryfe, poyson to vertues, Pyrate
of rousers, and capitaynes of all wretched theues. I saye
not this without wepyng. It is the greattest mockyng
6360 of all mockeries: and the case goth to suche losse and par-
dition, that these myscheuous people are our homely 7 fa-
miliar enmies, 7 yet there is no emperour that can haue
lordshyp ouer them, nor lustyce chastise theym, nor feare
withdrawe them, nor law subdue them, nor shame refreyn
6365 them, nor dethe that can kyll them: for they be men reme-
dyleffe: They ouer renne, and eate, and dispoyle euerye
man. O howe sorowfulle I am for the Rome, that was
not wont to haue in the suche ylle aduentures. Certainly
in the auncient tyme, whan thou were peopled with right
6370 and trewe Romainys, and not as thou arte now with ba-
stardes childerne, than the armies, that went fro Rome,
were as well disciplyned and morigerate, as the scholes
of the philosophies, that were in Grece. The olde auncy-
ent histories wytnesse, that kinge Philyp of Macedonye,
6375 and his sonne Alexander, were happy in warre, bycause
they kepte their armies so well ordered, that it semed bet-
ter, to be a senate that ruled, thā an armie that wold fight.
I swere to the by myn honestie, that fro the tyme of Quin-
tus Cincinatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus, in
6380 the whiche tyme was the greattest prosperitie of Rome,
the common people hadde greatte glorie as longe as di-
scipline of knyghthode was well corrected: and we be-
gan

(*f. 102) *ganne to lose, whan our capitaynes beganne to deserue to be depraued and condempned. O curfed be thou Asye, and curfed be the day, that we had conqueste of the. The goodnesse that hath folowed therby we see it at our eye: and the damage that is come by the shal alwayes be sorrowed. In the we haue waisted our treasures, 7 thou hast filled vs with thy vices: In chaunge of stronge and vertuous men, thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We haue ouercome thy cites, and thou triumphest of our vertues: we haue beaten downe thy fortresses, and thou hast destroyed our good customes: by force thou art becom ours, and with our good wylls we are now thyne: Unjustely we are lordes of thy realmes, and we are iuste subiectis to thy vices: Fynally Asye thou shalt be the sepulchre of Rome, and thou Rome shalt be the syncke and gutter of the fylthynges of Asye. Certaynly Rome ought to haue bene content with the landes of Italye, whiche is the nauyll of the worlde, without conqueringe the landis of Asie, to bereue them from other. I lyke wel all thingis that I haue redde of my predeceffours, sauinge that they were prowde, as we their succeffours be to hardye. And I sweare vnto the, that yet peradventure after the peyn, we shall becomme vertuous and good. All the rycheffe and tryumphes, that our forefathers haue broughte out of Asye, the goodes and the rycheffe, and they also with the tyme at laste hadde an ende: but the wantonnes and vices that are in vs their chylderne, dothe remayne styll vnto this daye. I wolde to god that the Pryncis knewe what an outragious thyng hit is to inuente warres in straunge landes and countreyes, and what trauayle they serche in theyr persons, and what thoughtes in their mindes, and what murmure and mocyon in their subiectis, what ende and wasting of their riches and their tresures,

What

(*f 102^b) *what pouertie to their frendes, what pleasure to their enemies, what damage to their natyue countreys, 7 what poyson they leaue to their owne enheritours? I sweare to the, that if I had knowen that I do knowe, I wyll not
⁶⁴²⁰ say but by bloudde shedde they be taken, if they had offered them selfe with good wyll and shedyng of teares, I wolde not haue taken them. The trouth is, that our capytaynes neuer flew .xx. M. men of Asie, with theyr armure that they bare out of Italye, but they losse mo than a .C.
⁶⁴²⁵ M. Romayns with the vices that they brought to Rome: As eatynge openly in the palayes Aufonios, suppyng in their houses secretly, the women to clothe them as mē, and the men paynted as women, The patritiens bearyng Meafques, The Plebeyens vsynge smelles, and the emperours to weare purple. These .vii. vyces of Asie, Asie sent for a presēt to Rome. Seuē noble capytayns brought them, I leaue to shewe their names, leest I shulde shame them with their faultes, sythe they were so noble men by their high dedes. Nowe ye princis beholde what profyite
⁶⁴³⁰ it is to take straunge realmes with your warres: I leue the vices that they recouer, and the vertues that they lese, with the pardicion of their trefure that they loue. For certayn there is neyther kyng nor realme brought to extreme pouertie, but by warrynge a straunge realme with finall
⁶⁴⁴⁰ extreme conqueste. I demaunde of the myn owne frende Cornelius: What causeth princis to lese their treasure, 7 require them of other? Whan their owne can not suffyfe, than they take fro churches, serche dyuers loones, reyse tributes, and inuent newe subfydies, gyue and spende on
⁶⁴⁴⁵ straungers, and make him selfe hated of his owne, pray euery man, and haue nede of euery man: aduenture his persone, and aduenture his renoume? If thou knowest not this, I wyll tell the, if thou wylt here me. These princis

(*f. 103) *cis counsell with men, they lyue with men, and finally at the laste they are men. At one tyme by pride that furmou- 6450
teth them, an other tyme by counfeyll that fayleth them, some imaginige by their fantasies, some sayinge, that yf he haue great goodes, he ought to encrease his fame, and that no memorie shuld be of him, if he inuented no warre, and that the emperour of Rome by right is lorde of al the 6455
erthe. And in this maner as his fortunes is base, and his thoughtes high, the goddis suffreth that whā they thinke iustly to wyne an other mannes iustely, iustely they lose their owne. O princis, I can not tell what begyleth you, for where as ye may be ryche with plesure, ye wyl be pore 6460
with warre: where as ye may be beloued, ye wil be hated: where as ye may play and sporte your selfe, and reste in a sure lyfe, ye wyll commytte your selfe to the chaunces of fortune: and where as other haue necessitie of you, ye put your selfe to be in the necessitie of other. And though the 6465
prince make no warre, he shoulde not suffre his people to warre: Euery man ought to leaue the warre. Frend Cornelius, I demaunde of the, whether is more trauayle to his persone, or damage to his realme, a kynges ennemies or els his owne armie? His ennemyes robbeth on the co- 6470
stes, but our men robbe all the londe: The enmyes maye be resysted, but we dare not speake to our owne mē: The ennemies enuade vs on one day, and recule backe agein; but our garifons robbe daily and abydeyth styll. The strā-
gers haue some feare, but ours are shameles: and at the 6475
laste the farther our ennemies goo, the more they waxe lyberall, and our armies of men euery day encrease in crueltie, in suche wise, that they offende the goddis, and be importunate to their princes, and noyfull to the people, lyuyng to the damage of euery man, and be vnprofyta- 6480
ble to all meu [sic]. By the god Mars I swere to the, and as I
may

(*f. 103^b) *maye be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with my hande, I haue mo complayntis daily fro the senat on the capitaynes that ben in Illyrike, than on all the ennemies
 6485 of the Romaine people: I haue more feare in mayntey-
 nynge one standarde of a hundred men, than to giue bat-
 tayle to l. M. ennemies. For the goddis and fortune dif-
 patcheth a batayle in an houre, be it good or bad, but with
 these other I can do nothyng in al my lyfe. Thus it hath
 6490 ben my frende Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it shall
 be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I shall
 leaue it: Our fathers dyd inuent it, and we susteyne hit,
 that be their chyl dren, 7 for yll it shal abyde to our heires.
 I saye to the one thyng, and I thinke I am not deceyued
 6495 therin: To endure the great damage and no prouffite of
 these people, I thinke it is a gret foly in man, or els a gret
 punisshement of the goddes. Be the goddis so iuste in all
 iustice, and so true in all veritie, that they wyll suffre vs
 without reason to do yll in straunge landes, to whom we
 6500 dyd neuer good, and in our owne houses to haue shrewde
 tournes of them, that we haue alway done good? These
 thīges frend Cornelius I haue writē to the, not bicause I
 thinke it nedeful that thou shuldest know it: but my spirit
 resteth in shewyng of it. Panutius my secretarie went to
 6505 visite this lande, and on the way I gaue hym this letter:
 I do sende to the two horses, I thinke they be good. The
 armure and iewels that I wōne on the Parthes, I haue
 departed them. Howe be it I sende the a chariot of them.
 My wyfe Faultyne saluteth the, and sendeth to thy wyfe
 6510 a riche glasse, 7 an ouche of precious ston es to thy dough-
 ter: I beseeche the goddis to gyue the good lyfe, and me a
 good dethe. Marcus thy louer writeth to the Cornelius
 his frende.

To

(*f. 104)

*¶ To Torcatus beinge at Gayette in consolation of his banyshement.
The .iii. letter.



Marke of mount Celio, companyon of the empire, to the Torcate beinge at Gayette, patri-⁶⁵¹⁵
cien Romaine, salute to thy person, and vertue and force ageinst aduerse fortune. It is a
thre monethes syth I receyued thy letter, the
whiche myn eies myght not make an end to rede, nor my
handes to answere. I am so heuy for thy heuynes, so peyn⁶⁵²⁰
full for thy peyn, and so hurt with thy wound, that where
as thou wepest with thyn eies outwardly, I wepe with
my hart inwardly. I wote what difference is betwene the
tree and the croppe, and the dreame fro the trouthe: I here
of thy tranayles [sic] by straunge persons, and I fele them in⁶⁵²⁵
myne owne person. But where as true frendes be, the peyn
es are in cōmon. The great infortunes oughte to be suf-
fred for one thyng, bycause they declare who are the true
frendes: I knowe by thy letter, howe thou arte banished
from Rome, and all thy goodis confiscate, and that for⁶⁵³⁰
pure heuynesse thou arte sycke in thy body. I wolde go se
the, and counsell thy persone, bycause that thou myghtest
see, with what harte and wyll I doo wepe for thy myf-
adventure. But if thou take me for thy true frende, beleue
me as I beleue the, that is howe moche I feelee thy myf-⁶⁵³⁵
adventure. Of trouthe as thou arte banyshed bodily, soo
am I banyshed inwardly in my harte. And yf thy goo-
des or substaunce be taken away fro the, I am robbed of
a good frende and companyon. And if thou lackest thy
frendes, I am abydyng amonge myn enmies. Though⁶⁵⁴⁰
I myght remedy by workyng of my power, thy banysh-
ment: yet I wyl counsel thy spirite with certayn wordis.

If I

(*f. 104^b) *If I be not forgetfulle, I neuer sawe the content in this lyfe: bycause thou were euer besie in thy prosperitie, and
 6545 very of any aduerfitie. And as now I se the dispayre, as though thou were but newe come into this world. I haue knowen the this .xxxii. yeres in great ioy: and nowe thou complaynest of .vi. monethes that fortune hath touned her whele. O Torcate, now thou mayst knowe, that ver-
 6550 tuous men feare more two dayes of prosperitie, than two hundred of aduerse fortune. O howe many and oftenty-
 mes, and in howe many cities thou and I haue sene flyp fro their prosperytes, charged with vyces of other and straunge enmities? In suche wife, that their vaynglorie
 6555 and flypper prosperitie endured but two dayes: and the hurtes and losse that they haue hadde, and the cruell and extreme enmyties the whiche also that they haue wonne, lasteth to this daye in their heires. Contrarye wife we see some set in the height of tribulations, the whiche haue es-
 6560 caped by castynge away vices, clothinge them with vertues, very of euyll warkes, folowyng goodnes, beinge frendes to all, and ennemies to none. What wylte thou that I shulde say more? They that are happye, are ouercome in peace, and they that are vnhappy, do ouercomme
 6565 other in warre. Therefore my frende Torcate, it semeth to me no lesse necessitie to gyue good councelle, than to prosper with great prosperite, to remedy them that are in gret heuineffe. For as very are they that go the playn way, as they that costeth the highe mountaynes. By thy letter I
 6570 perceyue, that what time thou hopedst thou haue ben in most quietnes and rest, this yll fortune and chance felle on the. Be not abashed therof. For thoughe that all newe chaunces causeth newe thoughtes presently, yet therby cometh more cause of stedfastnes in tyme to come. Certaynly the
 6575 tree beareth not so moche fruit there as it spryngeth first

(*f. 105) *as it dothe whan it is newe sette in an other place. And al good smelles are more odoriferous, if they be wel medled and chaufed togyther. I pray the tell me abidyng in the world, being a childe of the same, and louyng the worlde, what hopest thou to haue of the worlde, but worldly thin⁶⁵⁸⁰ ges? The worlde shal always be the world. At this houre thou arte worldly, and shalt be worldly, and shalt be entreated, as the worlde is accustomed to entrete them that be worldly. If thou knewest thy selfe and thy weakenes, if thou knewest fortune 7 her mutation, if thou knewest⁶⁵⁸⁵ the men and their malices, if thou knewest the world and the flatteringe therof: thou wolde reyse the fro the hande therof with honour, and not be chaftyfed with infamy. O howe we hope to sprede by fortune? O how often with-⁶⁵⁹⁰ out respecte vnwares we passe this lyfe? O howe often we trust the bobaunce of this worlde: and we trust therin as moche as though it neuer begiled man. I say it not bicause I haue harde it sayd, nor bicause I haue redde it in bokes: but for we se it dayly with our eyes: some decaye and lese their goodes, other falle and lose their credence,⁶⁵⁹⁵ some falle in fighte, and lese their honour, and other arise and lose their lyues, and some thinke, that all are free by priuilege, where as neuer none were priuyleged. O my frende Torcate of one thyng I am certayne, and let eue-⁶⁶⁰⁰ ry man take it for a warnyng: Men by whom we be borne be of so yll disposicion, and the worlde so fierse and cruel, with whom we lyue, and the glydyng serpente fortune so full of poyson, that they hurt vs with their fete, 7 byte vs with their tethe, and scratche vs with their nayles, and swelle vs with theyr poyson: so that the passyng of the⁶⁶⁰⁵ lyfe is no lesse than takyng of deathe. And in case thou hast sene somme lyue longe without any falle of fortune, thinke not it is well: for it is not by good aduenture, but
the

(*f. 105^b) *the more his yl fortune. The worlde is so malycious, that
 6610 if we take not hede to prepare agaynst his wrinche, it wil
 ouerthrowe vs to our greater losse and hurt. Moche soner
 dye they that ben helthful with the infirmities 7 sycknes
 of few days, than they that be weke with their lāgour
 of many yeres. I say this bycause I hold it for most sure-
 6615 tie, that the myferable man, that maye not lyue withoute
 myseries, shulde fele the peynes by lyttell and lyttell, and
 not al at ones. We ete dyuers thynges by morsels which
 if we shulde eate hole, wolde choke vs. In lyke wise in di-
 uers dayes we suffre dyuers trauayles, whiche al togyder
 6620 wolde make an ende of vs in one day, and than sythe the
 goddis wyll permytte, that thy myffortune shall fall, and
 that the ryuer of thy decay ouerflowe her chanel, 7 where
 thou wenest to be most sure, thou shalt be in gretest peryl:
 we shall minifter to the a fyrope, to the entent y thou lose
 6625 not thy good renoume, though thou haue lost thy goodis
 that be nought. Tell me I praye the Torcate, why com-
 playnest thou as he that is sycke? why criest thou lyke a
 foole? why syghest thou as a desperate man? why wepest
 thou as a childe? Thou haste gone an yll way, and com-
 6630 playnest of thy reſte. Thou arte clothed to goo throughe
 busshes, and thou sayest that thy gownes do teare. Thou
 walkeſte amonge the ſtones, and arte ſorye bycause thou
 falleſt. Thou haſte leaned and thought not to fall, and fi-
 nally thou arte ſette with the worlde, and thynkeſt to be
 6635 free with heuen. Wylte thou haue ſaufconduite of For-
 tune, that is ennemye to many? She can not gyue the na-
 turalitie, whiche is mother to all thinges. I wyl aſke the
 one thyng: I put the caſe that the ſee had promyſed the
 alway in ſuretie of her, and the ſkye clere wether, the fo-
 6640 mer ſnowes, and the wynter flowres: It wyll not be of a
 ſuretie Torcate. If nature can not fulfyll this, being
 thy

(*f. 106) *thyn owne mother, thinkest thou than, that fortune wyll gyue it the, whiche is thy vniuste stepmother? kepe this rule for certayne and neuer forgete it, that al natural cour[-]les are subiectes to mutation euery yere. And all worldly folke that truste on fortune, shall suffre eclipys euery moment. And than lyth naturall thynges can not be always in one case, of necessitie the goodes of fortune muste peryshe, lythe they be superfluitie. Right vniuste shulde the ryght wife goddis be, yf they had made perpetuall that, whiche is damageable to so many: Or that which is profitable, to haue created it fallyble. I wyll speake no more of thy prosperitie in tymes past, but nowe I wyll come to the banyshement that thou suffrest presentely. Suspicious fortune made a fayre at thy gate, knowynge what she folde: and thou wyft not what thou boughtest: She made a dere a [sic] bargayne, and folde it dere to the: she hath gyuen the sowe for swete, and the swete is tourned in to sowrenesse for the: she hath gyuen the yuell for good, and hath tourned thy good to yl. And finally she hath begyled the at a iust price, not wenyng to the, that she wold haue done the damage: and though that she was malicious in fellynge to the, thou were no lesse folysshe in the byenge therof: for the more there is in fortunes shoppe, the more suspecte is the marchandyse. O howe vnhappy we be, in that market is nothyng folde but lyes. And she trusteth nothyng but vpon the pledges of our renoume: and at last wyll not be payde but with the shotte of our lyfe, and that is the moste greattest and myscheuous wounde. It is openly knowen to euery man as to the, that where as they thynke not to leese theyr wares, false Fortune in that they purpose, to their myshappe lyeth in awayte, and is redy to bye them. Thou makest me very fore abashed Torcate. I haue reputed the ryght wyfe and vertuous, and

E. ii. [sic]

(*f.106^b)⁶⁶⁷⁵ *and nowe I take the for a losfe foole. In good soth whan I sawe the yonge in Gayette, I iudged the worthy to gouerne Rome: and nowe that thou art olde, thou deseruest nothyng but to be caste in a galey as a sclaue. O how many thinges are there to knowe a man by? There is not so
⁶⁶⁸⁰ high a toppe of a hylle, but hit is trodden with fetee [sic]: nor soo depe a see but hit is founded with leade? And in a hundrede yeres one manne can not attayne to knowe an other mannes hart. Telle me I praye the, what lokedst thou for of fortune, after so greatte welthe? Lyuynge to
⁶⁶⁸⁵ the worlde, thynke to be in the worlde. The childerne of vanitie go and walke so longe, that at lasfe their difordynate desires can not take fro the worlde their antike villainies and shamefulnes, the whiche fortune dothe not with them that she hath reysed vnto the skyes, thynkest than,
⁶⁶⁹⁰ that she shall bowe with the to the lowest parties? O sole Torcate, thoughtest thou to passe the see without peryll, to eate flesshe without bones, To drinke wine withoute lyes, to walke in the wayes without findynge stoness, To bye wheate without chaffe? In good soth, if thou thoughtest to bye yl goodes without hyndrance of thy good fame and maynteyne thy good renoume without losse of yl got[-] ten goodes, I wold wytte of the, what thou dydest hope to do, sythe so longe season thou hast made a face in the world. Xxxiii. yere thou hast ben in the grace of the world,
⁶⁷⁰⁰ nowe it is tyme fro hensforth to fall at some discord therewith. Abelle, kynge of the Affiriens, hoped but fewen yeres of good prosperitie. Quene Simiramis but onely fyxe. Abell kynge of the Lacedemoniens fyue. Eutrete kynge of the Caldeens .iiii. Alexander kynge of the Grekes .iiii. Amylcar the great of Carthage but ii. and our
⁶⁷⁰⁵ Gayus Cesar Romain but one onely, and many before and syth not one yere: and syth thou were the moste vnknowē

(*f. 107) *knownen of lygnage, The groffest of vnderftondyng, and the leest of power, the darkeft of fame, and the moft weke in merites, wherfore than complayneft thou of fortune? ⁶⁷¹⁰ If thou haddeft ben vertuous in al thefe .xxx. yeres, thou haddeft neuer eaten without thoughte, nor neuer fpoken without fufpecion, nor fleepte without ftertinge, thinking what thou haddeft to do, and wherin fortune myght begyle the. He that fo longe is befette aboute with fo many ⁶⁷¹⁵ enmies, I can not tell howe he fhulde take any fure fleep. Ah Torcate Torcate, the worlde hath fo many falles, and we knowe fo yll howe to continue amonge theym that be worldly, that fclantly we are fallen whan our handes and fete lyke fclauens be fo faft tied, that we can not lofe them. ⁶⁷²⁰ It fylleth our perfons ful of vices, ftrengtheneth our fynewes to wickednes, weaketh our hartis in vertues, and fynally rendreth our fpirytes in a traunce, and mafeeth our vnderftandyng, and chaungeth our taftte, and fuffereth vs as beaftes to fhewe our euylles that we fele with way- ⁶⁷²⁵ lynges, all though as men we durft not fhew it. And that this is true, it appereth, that whan we fee, that we lofe, we lament and complayne, and none can helpe hym felfe. This fmalles leffon I wryte to the, to the ende that thou lyue in leffe thoughte. The horfe colte that thou dyddeft ⁶⁷³⁰ fende me, leapeth very well: The fpanyell that thou fent to me, is well, but he is wylde: The calfe was very fatte, and I wolde haue eaten it forthewith, but my wyfe Fauflyn befyly prayed me to kepe it, and thynketh that it was ftolne in a gardeyne. I fende to the .ii. M. fexters for to ⁶⁷³⁵ fuccour thy [sic] in thy trauayles. And as touchyng thy baniſhement at tyme conuenient I fhall difpatche thy matters with the fenate. The confolation of the goddis, and the loue of man be with the Torcate. The fodeynnes of euils and the yre of the furies be feperate fro me Marcus Au- ⁶⁷⁴⁰ relius

Ee. iii.

(*f. 107^b) *relius. Fauſtyn my wife greteth the: and in lykewyſe fro her parte and ours, to thy mother in lawe, and thy wyfe haue vs recommended. Marc of Rome ſendeth this wrytynge to Torcate of Gayette.

¶ A letter to Domitius of Capue to comforte him in his banyſhement.

The fourth letter.



6745 **M**Arke oratour Romain, borne on mount Celio, to the Domitian of Capue ſalute and conſolation of the goddis conſolations. In this right colde wynter there aroſe in this land a myghty gret winde, and by reaſon of the great wynde aroſe
6750 great quantitie of waters, and the waters haue cauſed great humidities, and great humydities brede dyuers maladies and diſeaſes: and amonge all the infirmities of this lande I haue the goute in my hande, and the ciatica in my legge. For the helth of my wyfe Fau[-]
6755 ſtine I can neyther go nor wryte. I ſaye it bycauſe I can not write to the ſo longe as the caſe wolde require, and as thy thanks meryteth, and my deſire coueteth. It is ſhewed me by occaſion of a hors thou haſt hadde ſtryfe with Patricio thy neyghbour, 7 that thou art baniſhed fro Ca-
6760 pue, and ſet in the priſon Mamartyn. Thy goodes are cō[-]fiſked, and thy chyl dren banyſhed, thy houſe caſt downe, and haue put thy neuewe out of the ſenate, and banyſhed the the ſenate for .x. yeres. It is tolde me that all the daye thou wepeſt, and wakeſt by night, in company thou dieſt,
6765 and doeſt loue to reſte ſolytarilye, Thou hateſt pleaſure, and loueſt penſyuenes: And I haue no meruayle: for ſorrowfull hartis lyueth with teares and wepynge, and be mery

(*f. 108) *mery 7 laugh in dieng. I am right forie to fe the loft: but moche the more y for a so smal a thyng thou shulde be cast away, as for a hors to lese al thyn estate. O how variable ⁶⁷⁷⁰ is fortune, and howe sone a mysadventure falleth before our eies? Fortune gyueth these euyls, 7 we fe it not: with her handes she toucheth vs, and we fele it not: she tredeth vs vnder her fete, and we knowe it not: she speket in our eares, and we here her not: she crieth aloude vnto vs, and ⁶⁷⁷⁵ we vnderstonde her not: and this is bicause we wyll not knowe her: and fynally. whan we thynke we are mooste surest, then are we in mooste peryll. Trough it is, that with a lyttell wynde the fruyte falleth fro the tree: and with a lyttell sparckle, the house is sette a fyre: a small rocke bre- ⁶⁷⁸⁰ keth a greatte shyppe, and with a lyttell stone the legge is hurte. I say that oftentimes of that we feare not cometh greatte perylle. In a clofe Fistula rather than in an open the surgians doubte the peryll: In depe styll waters the pilote feareth more than in the greates hye waves: Of se- ⁶⁷⁸⁵ crete enbuschement rather than of open armies the warrior doubteth: I wyll not onely say of straungers, but of their owne propre, Not of ennemyes, but of frendes, not of crewelle warre, but of peace, not of open damage or sleaude, but of secrete peryl and myschiese, a wyse man ⁶⁷⁹⁰ oughte to beware. Howe many haue we seene, that the chances of fortune coude not abate, and yet within a shorthyle after vnwares with greatte ignomynous shame hathe ouerthrowe them? I wolde witte of the, what reste can a persone haue, that trusteth euer vpon the prosperite ⁶⁷⁹⁵ of fortune, syth for so lyghte a cause we haue sene so great a stryfe in Rome, and suche a losse to thy hous. Seynge that I se, I wyll not feare the wyndes of her trauayles, nor beleue in the clerenesse of her pleasures, nor her thonders that shall feare me, nor trust vpon her flatteringes: ⁶⁸⁰⁰

nor


(*f. 108^b) *nor thanke her for that [she] abydeth with me, nor be forye for that she taketh fro me, nor wake for any trouthe that she sayth to me, nor ryfe for any of her lefynges, nor laughe for any thyng that she defireth of me, nor wepe for gyuing
6805 me leaue, if thou knowest not the cause of this I shall tel the. Our lyfe is so doubtfull, and fortune so waywarde, that she doth not alway threate in strikyng, nor stryketh in thretenyng. The wyfe man gothe not so temperately, that he thynketh at euery steppe to falle, nor lyue with so
6810 smalle a thought to thynke to ouerthrowe in euery playn pathe. For oftentimes fals fortune shaketh her weapon, and striketh not, and an other tyme striketh without shakynge. Beleue me of one thyng Domitius, That parte of the lyfe is in moſte perylle, whan with lyttel thoughte
6815 or care men thynke them ſelfe moſt ſure. Wylt thou ſe the trouthe therof. Aduyſe the of Hercules that ſcaped fro many perylles by ſee and by lande, and yet dyed betwene his lēmans armes. Laomedon perſhed not vnder Troy, but was ſlayne in his houſe. Great Alexander dyed not
6820 in makinge warre ouer al the erth, but he was ended with a lyttel poyſon. The couragious Caius Cefar ſaued hym ſelfe in .lii. battayles, and after in the ſenate was ſlayne with .xxxii. ſtrokes of penkniues. Aſclipio brother of Pom[-]peie, perſhed not flotyng .xxii. yere vpon the ſee, but he
6825 was drowned after in drawyng water at a welle. Tenne capitayns that Scipio had with hym in Affrike, that vāquyſhed many harde batayles, as they were mockyng on a bridge, they fel fro the brydge and were drowned. Good Drufio that had ouercome the Parthes, the day of his tri[-]
6830 umph goyng to his chariot there fell a tyle that claued aſonder his heed, ſo that vayneglorye was the ende of his good lyfe. What ſhuld I tel the more? Thou knoweſt wel that Lucye my ſyſter hauyng a nedel on her boſom playenge

(*f. 109) *enge with her chylde betwene her armes, the chylde with his hande hytte the nedell luche a stroke into her bodye, ⁶⁸³⁵ that he flewe his mother. Gneo Ruffyn the consull sent ageinst the Germayns, of our tyme was so valyaunt in armes, that none of our predeceffours surmoüted him: yet he kembynge his olde whyte heares, one of the tethe of the combe entred into his heed, wherby grewe an im- ⁶⁸⁴⁰ postume, by occasion wherof he ended his honorable life for so small a case. Howe semeth the Domitius? As I do tel the of so small a nôbre, I coude recyte infynite ex-âples. What misfortunes fel after good fortunes? what myschaunce after great glorie? what mysaduenture after ⁶⁸⁴⁵ great happe? what great euyll they take of their deathe after the begynnynge of great welthe in the lyfe. I be-inge as they, knowe not what to desyre, but they beinge as I am wyll rather chuse the laborous and honourable dethe, than an yll dethe and an honourable lyfe. To my ⁶⁸⁵⁰ femynge he, that wyll be a man amonge men, and not a beast amonge bestes, ought to trauayle fore to lyue well, and moche more to dye better. For at the fynall ende an yll dethe putteth great doubte of the good lyfe: and the good deth excuseth the yll lyfe. I haue wrytten to the at ⁶⁸⁵⁵ the begynnynge of my letter, that by reason of the humidities, the gowte greueth me ylle. But to satisfie thy desire, I wolde wryte with my hande more at lengthe. Two days the loue that I bare to the, hath fought with the payne that I endure. My wylle wolde write, but my ⁶⁸⁶⁰ fyngers can not holde my penne. The remedy is, syth I may not as I wolde, that thou wylte take as thyn owne that I may do, as myn owne dede. Faustine my wyfe saluteth the, who by reason of my diseases is halfe ylle at ease. It is shewed her, that thou haste greate payne of a ⁶⁸⁶⁵ hurte of thy face, she hath sent the a boxe with baume, that

(*f. 109^b) *that thy hurte shall nat appere in thy visage, if thou canst fynde any grene almondes or new nuttis, Faustine prayeth the to sende her some by this bearer. I haue but lytell
 6870 store of money, therfore I send the a gowne and thy wife a kyrtell. No more but I pray the goddis to giue the that I desire for the: and to giue me that thou desirest for me. And beside that I do write to the with my hande, I gyue to the myn owne propre herte.

¶ A letter sent fro the emperour to Claudius and Claudyne his wyfe, bycause they beinge olde lyued as yonge persones.

¶ The .v. letter.

6875  Arke of mount Celio to the Claudius and Claudine husbande and wyfe, dwellynge in my warde, I desire helthe, sendyng you this letter. The trouthe is, bycause ye are my frendis, 7 vnder my charge, I enquire
 6880 of them that come fro you of your estates: and by theym that go to you, I sende recommendations to you bothe: yf ye haue my good wylle demaunde it of your hartis. And yf in your stomacke ye repute and take me but as a suspecious frende, thanne I thynke my selfe
 6885 euen cleane condempned. The cruelle forgetfulnesse, the whiche may be causer of myne absence, peradventure banysheth the good dedes that ye haue receyued of my persone. If in any thyng I haue entreated you with lyes, than I require that ye entreate me nothinge with trouth.
 6890 But if I haue bene alwayes your good neyghbour and frende, yf ye haue any nede of myne honour, than be to me as good. Gayo Furion my frende, as wel as your parent, passyng this waye to Alexandrye, hath shewed me
 many

(*f. 110) *many thinges the which were done in Rome: and amōge other he shewed me one thyng, that caused me to laugh⁶⁸⁹⁵ whan I herd it: and yet it was right greuouse to me, whā I thoughte theron. Some thynges we take sodeynly in sporte and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde well considered, maketh vs very sorie. He shewed me, howe that ye seme to euery man right auncient, and very yong in your⁶⁹⁰⁰ doinge: for ye aray your selfe dayly with newe apparell, as ye shulde go to weddinges: and where as men do honour you as ancient persons, ye shew your selfe wanton: and whan folke renne to se gewgawes, ye are not the last. There is no lyghtnes in Rome, but it is registred in your⁶⁹⁰⁵ house. Thus ye gyue your selfe to plesures, as they that thynke neuer to haue displeasure. And finally whan ye shulde lyfte vp your handis, ye entre newly into the wages of the worlde. Trewely my neyghbours and frendis to speake with due reuerence, I am ashamed of your vn-⁶⁹¹⁰shamefastnes, and am no lesse sorie for your faultis. There be dyuerse greuouse faultes, that are made lyghte by the honeste withdrawinge of them. And some other that are but smal fautes, 7 fyndyng no ways to leue them are esteemed very great. By all the goddis, I can fynde none oc-⁶⁹¹⁵casione, howe for to excuse your euylles: but I see inowe wherewith to condempne them. Wherefore pardone me, yf that I am so vnhoneft to speake so moche, if ye be not honeste in your lyuynge. In good sothe I denaye not, but that thou Claudius hafte ben right free and lyberalle of⁶⁹²⁰ thy personne, and thou Claudine ryght faire of vyfage, 7 many persons for the beautie of thy forheed haue ben curi-ous to haue had y to wife: but I wold wyt of y youth of the one, 7 beautie of the other, in vsing al your liues in vanite, what goodly trinkettes ye hope to were in the strait-⁶⁹²⁵nes of the Sepulchre. O great foles ye and foles agayn.

Do ye

(*f. 110^b) *Do ye not knowe yet, that the tyme fleeth with mouyng
of wynges? The lyfe trauayleth on her way without lif-
tynge of her fete: fortune stretcheth her without styrring
6930 her armes, 7 the world voydeth it selfe saying nothinge,
the fleshe consumeth without felyng, and our glorie pas-
seth as it neuer had ben: and finally deth assayleth vs er-
euer he knocke at the gate. Certaynly it is impossible for
to make synewes of blode, of veynes to make bones, of a
6935 craggy rocke a playne way, and of possible to make im-
possible: I mene y none shal think, but that the grennesse
of youthe, shall waste and wydder in aege: O worlde,
what a worlde arte thou? so lytel is our force 7 our weke-
nes so greate, that without resytinge drownest vs wyl-
6940 lyngly in the depenes of thy peryllous whirlepoole: and
hydest vs in the thickest of thy mountaynes: and ledest
vs out of the brode way wandryng by thy narrow pathes,
and bryngest vs into the rugged waye. I do meane, that
they that be greatest in fauour, thou bringest into daun-
6945 ger, to the entente that with one stroke of thy fote thou
mayst ouerthrowe them. O worlde .lii. yere I haue bene
in the, and yet thou neuer saydest one trouth to me, and
I haue taken the with .x. M. lyes. I neuer desyred no-
thyng of the, but thou dydest promyse it me, but thou
6950 neuer gauest me any thyng promysed: I neuer treated
with the, but thou begyledst me, I neuer arryued at the,
but thou lost me: I neuer sawe thyng in the, wherby I
shulde loue the. For all that we se in the, is worthy to be
abhorred. And beside this, I wote not what is the worlde.
6955 O what faute is in vs thy worldly wretches? For if thou
hate vs we dare not hate the: if thou braule with vs, we
muste be styll: if thou spurne at vs we muste suffre the:
yf thou beate vs with a staffe, we say nothyng: And yet
if thou woldest haue vs gone we wyll not go. And worste
of

(*f. 111) *of all is, that we had rather serue the for nothyng with⁶⁹⁶⁰
 trauayle, than the goddis with prayer and reste. I swere
 to the by the immortall goddis, that often tymes I make
 accompt of my yeres paffed: and an other tyme I reuolue
 my bokes to see what I haue redde. And lykewyse I de-
 maunde of my frendes to gyue me counsel to know wher⁶⁹⁶⁵
 in it is that I wolde speake. I beinge at Rhodes redinge
 Rhethorique, My lorde Adrian kepyng me there, at the
 age of .xxi. yere, my yonge fleshe, and no lesse weake thā
 tender, at the firste worke I founde solytarineffe, and the
 solytarines with libertie adored the worlde: In adorynge⁶⁹⁷⁰
 I felte it, in felynge I folowed it, in folowing I ouertoke
 it, in ouertaking I toke it, in takinge I proued it, in pro-
 uynge I tasted it, in tastinge I foude it bytter, in fynding
 it bytter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I lefte it, in leauynge
 it, it retourned, and retournynge I receyued it. And in⁶⁹⁷⁵
 this maner .lii. yeres we haue eaten of one breadde, and
 dwelled in one hous. Whā I saw it displefed, I serued it,
 whan it sawe me thoughtfull it chered me, whan I sawe
 it in prosperitie, I demaunded it, whan it sawe me merye
 it begyled me. And thus we be to gyther vnto this daye,⁶⁹⁸⁰
 not gyuynge me leaue to go, nor I wyllynge to departe
 fro it. O worlde thou hast so many countenaunces in thy
 vanytie, that thou leadeft all wandrynge in vnstablenes.
 Sith we suffre the to take vs, thou wilt neuer deliuer vs:
 if we withdraw our fete fro the snare of fortune, forthwith⁶⁹⁸⁵
 thou fettrest our legges fast with irons: and if by chance
 we fyle the yrons, anon thou manaclest our handes: and
 though the way be strayte, the pathe sharpe, the iourneye
 longe, and our fleshe weake, yet our bodies are euer ladē
 with vices, and our hartes fulfilled with thoughtes and⁶⁹⁹⁰
 penyuenes. Of one thyng I haue great meruayle, and
 I can not deuyse what it is: without any constreynt to the
 contra-

(*f. 111^b) *contrarie, we go surely ouer the bridge, and yet we wylle go an nother waye, and though the same way be sure, yet
 6995 we wyll aduenture into the gulfre: if the wayes be drye, yet wyll we go throughe the dyrte and myre and plasse: hauynge meate for our lyuynge, we serche for poyson to kyll vs, we serche to be losse, and may be assured: without interest we commytte synne, seinge payne comynge
 7000 withall: and fynally to the intente that we shulde be taken for good, we shote at the whyte of vertues, and hyt the butte of vyces. One thyng I confesse, though it be myn owne shame, Paraduenture in tyme to come it shall be profytable to som other: In .j. yeres of my lyfe, I wold
 7005 proue all the vices of this lyfe, to se if any thyng myght haue satisfied the humayn malyce: And after I had sene all thyng, I founde that the more I dyd eate, the more I dyed for hungre: The more I slepte, the more sluggy I was: the more I dranke, the more thyrst I hadde: the
 7010 more I rested, the more wery I was: the more good I hadde, the more couetous I was: the more I fought, the lesse I founde: And finallye I neuer toke payne for any thinge, but I was euer lette: and than anone I hadde appetyte to an other. Lette no man thynke to lyue in the
 7015 fleshe, and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power to take from vs our lyfe: and we haue no power to take from it the disordinate couetyse. I wolde fayne knowe of the goddis, why our dayes shuld haue an ende. O cruel goddis what is this? We can neuer passe one good lyfes day, we do but
 7020 taste it, and so passeth our lyfe: and lyfe is but a dreame, and deathe waketh it. Lette euery man knowe, that the worlde taketh our wylle, and we with our good wyl giue it therto: and it taketh our wylle to the ende to content vs, and prayse that we prayse, and the tyme passeth soo,
 7025 that we lyue after the curfed tyme. To attayne vertues
 we

{*f. 112} *we haue good desire: but to attayne to vices we putte to all our warkes. This haue I sayde for you Claudius and Claudyne, that in thre score yeres ye wylle not yssue nor goo oute of the pryson of the worlde: Hauynge your feete putrified with yrons and chaynes. What is than ⁷⁰³⁰ to be hoped of yonge perfonnes whiche be of fyue and twenty yeres olde? Except my memorye fayle me: whan I was with you, ye hadde your neuwes sonnes of your chyl dren maryed, and nyeces doughters of your doughters maried: and me thynketh whan the guynes come, ⁷⁰³⁵ the season of cheryes is not comme: and whanne the newe wyne is tounned, the drye huskes are caste oute. Canne ye suffre dyuers neuwes sonnes to your chyl derne in your howse, and fewe yeres in your perfonnes? Seldomme we see the fruyte and the flowre to gyther: ⁷⁰⁴⁰ for whan the one is ripe and in season, the other is cleane gone and auoyded.

¶ In this case I thynke meruayle, howe ye can be of manye yeres, and seeme to be yonge. I knewe none other thyng, but whanne ye maryed Lamberte your dough- ⁷⁰⁴⁵ ter to Drufio, and Matryne your nyece, doughter of your dowghter, with Lamberte, that were all lyttelle and yonge chylderne: and sythe that ye be of a good aege, and lacke good, may gyue vnto eche of theym twentye yeres of your aege in stede of theyr dowrie. And so ye ⁷⁰⁵⁰ shal vnlade you of yeres, and charge you with other mennes goodes and substaunce. No lesse this mattier passeth in my thoughte, than the shorte clothe dothe in a false weuers handes. Ye haue strayned it on the tentours, and drawen hit on the perche for to lengthen the lyfe. If ⁷⁰⁵⁵ ye were made fayre clere cordwayners waxe, and swete of smelle, that ye myghte be drawen out alongthe, hit were well doone: but ye are but as fruyte of almondes,

femynge

(*f. 112^b) *femyngre drie without, and worme eaten within. For the
7060 loue that I haue to you, and for neyghbourheed that ye
haue had with me, I defire styll frendshyppe of you, that
lyke as I knewe you yonge and very yonge, so to knowe
you olde and very old. I say not that ye surmoût in age,
but your wytte fayleth you. O Claudius and Claudine,
7065 I wylle ye knowe, that to lusteyne youthe, and to deface
age, to length the lyfe, and driue away dethe: it is not in
mens handes that defireth it: it is in the goddis that doo
giue it, whiche accordinge to iustyce and our couetyse, gi-
ueth vs lyfe by weight, and deathe without measure. Ye
7070 may know that our nature is corruption of our body, and
our bodye is putrifaction of our wytte, and our wytte is
guyde to our soule, and our soule is mother of our defy-
res, and our defires are fleers of our youthe, 7 our youth
token of our age, and our age spye of our dethe, and deth
7075 the house of our lyfe, wherin to [sic] youthe goth on fote, and
fro age we canne not flee on hors backe. I wolde wyte a
thinge of you: what finde ye in this lyfe? wherfore dothe
lyfe content you after .lxxx. yeres of aege? eyther ye haue
ben good or yl: if ye haue ben good and vertuous, ye shal
7080 not reioyce you with yll goddes: if ye haue ben yll, than
as well defire dethe, to the entent ye shulde be no more yl:
or els iustly ye might be flayn by iustyce. For he ŷ hath bē
yll tyl .lxx. yeres of age, in hym there is no hope of amend-
ment. Whan the couragious great Pompeie, and Caig
7085 Cefar were ennemies, and beinge in cruell ciuil batayles
Rome was infamed and theym selfe losfe: The annales
shewe that luche as came in fauour of Julius Cefar out
of the west, and the succours of Pompeie out of the east,
amonge other there came certayne people out of Barba-
7090 rie, dwellyng among ŷ moûtayns Riffees toward Inde:
Their custome was whan they came to thage of .l. yeres,
to

(*f. 113) *to make great fyres, and brenne them selfe quick in sacri-
 fyce to their goddis, and the same daye the parentis and
 [chil]dren wolde make great feaste, and eate of the fleshe halfe
 halfe [sic] brent, and drinke wine with the ashes of the bones. 7095
 This was sene with the eies of Pompei, bicause that som
 accompyshed the yeres of fiftye in his campe. O golden
 worlde, wherin were suche men. O happy people that in
 all the worldes to come, hath left such a memorie of them.
 They dispised the worlde and forgatte them selfe. What 7100
 strokes gaue they to fortune? what delytes for the fleshe?
 and howe lyttell sette they by their lyues, and yet more, to
 set so small store by dethe: O what bridell was this for the
 vicious, and what hope for the vertuous, what confusion
 for them that loued this lyfe, and what ensample, not to 7105
 feare dethe, haue they lefte vs? And sith they dispised their
 owne propre lyfe: It is then to be thought, that they died
 not to thentent to take other mens goodis, to thinke that
 our lyfe neuer shal haue ende, therefore our couetyse neuer
 hath ende. O glorious people, and .x. M. tymes blyffed, 7110
 that lefte their sensualitie and vanquyshed the naturalle
 wylle, beleue not that ye se, but gyue fayth to that ye ne-
 uer sawe, as they that se nothing go ageinst the fatall de-
 stenies: who gothe againste the waye of fortune, gyue a
 wrynche to the lyfe, robbe the body at the deth, wyne ho- 7115
 nour of the goddis, not that they shulde length your lyfe,
 but to take the reste of the lyfe. Archagatus furgien, and
 And [sic] Anthonius the phisitien, and Esculapius the father
 of medicines, I thinke wanne but lyttelle in that lande.
 Who commanded these Barbariens to take firope in the 7120
 mornyng an [sic] to take pylls at nyght, and to refreshe them
 with mylke, to take clere barly to anoynt their lyuers, to
 day to be lette blode, and to morowe to take a purgation,
 to eate one thyng, and to absteyn fro many thynges? Thā
 me

(*f. 113^b) 7125 *me thinke that they beinge of .l. yeres of age, and you of
 .lxxx. at the leaste, shulde be egall with them in wysedom.
 And if ye wyl not take dethe in good worth, yet at the left
 amende the yll lyfe. I remembre wel of a long tyme, that
 Fabricius our neybour wyllled vs to beware of a mocke-
 7130 rie, the whiche if it be not broken, there shall folow great
 dishonour. And fithe he shewed me soo good a lesson, I
 wyll pay you with the same money. I wyll shewe it you,
 if ye poore aged folkes do not knowe it: ye be sliche, that
 your eyes are bleared, your noses droppynge, your hea-
 7135 res whyte, your heringe dulle, your tongue falteryng,
 your tethe waggyng, your face wryncled, your fete swol-
 len: your shulders croked, and your stomake distemperid,
 finally if the graues coude speake, they myght rightfully
 calle for you to come, and inhabyte in them. Of trouth it
 7140 is great compassion to beholde yonge ignorance: that o-
 pen their eies to knowe the infortunes of this lyfe, whan
 it is tyme to close them, and to entre into the graue. And
 therof cometh that it is in vayne to gyue counsel to vayne
 yong people. For youth is withoute experience of that it
 7145 doth, 7 is suspect of y^e it hereth, 7 wyl not beleue y^e is sayd,
 and dispraiseth other mē's couñsel, 7 is right poore of their
 owne. And therefore I saye Claudius and Claudyne my
 frendes, I fynde without comparison none so ylle an ig-
 norance of goodnes that holdeth these yonge persones,
 7150 as is the obstination of these aged persons in yll. The dis-
 finition of yll, is a man not to knowe that he oughte to
 knowe: yet it is wors to haue the knowlege of wysedom,
 and to lyue lyke a brute beaste. O ye olde goutye people,
 ye forgette your selfe, and renne in poste after the lyfe, and
 7155 ye neuer regarde what shall falle, tylle ye be sliche as ye
 wolde not, and without power to retourne backe, 7 hereof
 cometh, that ye lacke of lyfe, he[sic] wyll supplie it with folly.
 Than

(*f. 114) *Than awake ye that be flombring, haue no force to flepe, open your flepy eies, and accustom you to do wel: Take that is nedeful for you: and finally appoynt you betimes ⁷¹⁶⁰ with dethe, or he make execution of your lyfe. Lii. yeres I haue knowen theym of the worlde, yet I coulde neuer knowe none so olde, nor so putrified in their membres, but that their hartes were hole to thinke vnhappynes, 7 their tongues hole to make lyes. Take hede ye poore olde per- ⁷¹⁶⁵ sons, me thinke fith somer is paste, ye hafte forward with the tyme: and if ye tary a smalle seafon, yet ye make haft to take lodgyng. I meane that though ye haue paste the day in the see with peryll, the night of dethe wyll take you at the porte of helth. Mockes do passe with mockynges, ⁷¹⁷⁰ and trouthe with trouthe: though I haue sene you ryghte yonge and hardy, nowe I se you very olde: Though the knyght passe his cours, yet it is not his faute if the horse be not well reyned: but at the ende of his cours, he wyll trymme his hors: Let not that begyle you, that of custom ⁷¹⁷⁵ hath begiled men: That is ye shalbe as wel esteemed thereby, as though ye had moche moneye. I beleue ye folowe dyuers, and yet they all haue enuy at you. But truste me, that at the ende, honour is gyuen to a yonge persone pore 7 vertuous, rather than to an olde person ryche 7 vicious. ⁷¹⁸⁰ The ryche may haue power to be more esteemed with pore people, and accompanied with ryche and couetous: but the vertuous poore person shalbe better esteemed and lesse hated. What can be greater confusyon to a persone, or more shame to our moder Rome, than to se in dyuers pla- ⁷¹⁸⁵ ces the olde people behaue and appoynt theym as yonge folke, as though they lyke the vyne leues dyd newly burgein? What thyng is it to see the olde persones nowe in oure dayes, brayde and make fayre theyr whyte heares, trymme and kembe their beardes, weare strayte showes, ⁷¹⁹⁰ their

Gg. ii.

(f. 114^b *their hosen garded, their fhertes frounced, their clokes of
scarlette, their bagges embrowdred, their chaines of gold
about their neckes, fringes of gold and fyluer about their
apparell, eſtrige fethers vppon their hattis lyke grekes,
7195 perles and rynges on their fyngers lyke Indians, their
gownes long lyke flamme preſtes, and finally worſt of al
whan dethe hath gyuen them day, than they anſwere that
newely they wyll ſerue a lady? O how many haue I kno-
wen in Rome, that were highly renowned in theyr youth.
7200 And after through wanton lyghtneſſe they were but loſte
in their age: and worſt of all, they loſte their renoume in
theyr age, and the fauour of their parentes, and the pro-
fytte of their children. Certaynely Guagyn [sic] Caton of the
ancient linage of the Catons was in Rome a prieſt of the
7205 law .v. yeres, 7 prouoſt .iii. yeres, and Cenſure .ii. yeres, 7
dictatour one yere, and Conſule .v. tymes, 7 whan he was
paſt the age of .lxv. yeres, than he began to ſerue Roſane
doughter of Gneus Curcius a lady ryght fayre 7 yonge:
and he doted ſo farre in her loue, that he ſpente all that he
7210 had to ſerue her, and wold wepe lyke a chyld whan he ſaw
her. It fortun-ed this lady fell ſycke of a feuer, and ſhe li-
ſted to eate newe grapes, and it was in ſpringe tyme, whā
there was none ripe as than in Rome. He ſent for ſome to
the felde of Danubius that was a .M. and .v. C. myle
7215 thenſe, and this was ſhewed to the ſenate, and they orde-
ned that Roſana was cloſed in with the virgins veſtales,
and the old man was banyſhed perpetually out of Rome,
and his children lyued in great pouertie, and the father
dyed infamed. I beleue that ye haue herde of this. There
7220 were dyuers that reputed for a greate vilanye the dede of
the olde louer, and prayſed the ſentence of the ſenate. But
I thinke if Guagin had had as many yonge perſones in
his banifhement, as there was old amorous perſons that
toke

*f. 115) *toke by hym example, I thinke there shuld not be so many men losfe, nor so many women so yll married. And therfore 7225 the beste is, that sliche people, whan they be warned by their seruantes, and reproued by their parentis, and defired by their frendes that they make not excuse 7 say, how they be not amorous but in mockery. Whan I was very yōg both of age 7 wyt, on a nyght I met with a neyghbor 7230 of myn nygh to the capitol. I was his neuew 7 son to his sonne, 7 I sayd to him. My lord Fabricius ye ar amorous thus and thus: He answered me, I do it but for pastyme. Certaynly I had meruayle to mete him at that houre, 7 I I [sic] was abashed of that answere that he gaue me. In them 7235 that be fore aged and of sadnes and grauitie sliche requestes ought not to be called amours, but rather dolours, not a pastyme but a losfe tyme, no mockery but a folyshenes. For in loue with mockerie foloweth the trouth of infamy. To the Claudius and Claudine, I demaunde of 7240 you olde louers, what is it to be polysht and arrayed as ye be so gayly, but the bronde of the tauerne, where there is nothyng but vinegre, fayre egges 7 nothing in them. gylte pylls and bytter in taste, an olde botell, and a newe stopell, a hole wounde ranced vnderne the, the fygure of 7245 an oxe to take partriches, a flyppre way, where no fote is sure, and finally an olde louter is as a knyghte decayed, y helpeth to lese money 7 can helpe no man fro peryl. Of trouth the old lecherous louter is as a swyne with a white heed and a grene taylle. Than me thynke ye that be my 7250 frendes and neyghbours, ye take no hede in brekyng the wynges out of lesen whan the fethers be gone: and yet ye begyle me not, to say that there is tyme inough. Beleue me, that that maye be done in the day, leaue it not tyll the nyght of your age. For the blunt knyfe cutteth but yl with 7255 the edge, and he that is wont for to eate the fleshe, can not eate

Gg. iii.

(*f. 115^b) *eate the boones. Than lette vs comme to the remedye to redreffe this dommage, that is, yf the howse begynne to falle, fhore and ftaye it not with pieces of fclender tymbre, 7260 but with freight pyllers of the lyfe, that we haue to yelde the goddis, and to men by good fame. And if the vyne of all our vertues be redy to be gadered, at the leaft lette vs gather that is lefte vs by vnderftondynge. And fithe the waters of our reſte are waſted with our yll werkes, lette 7265 vs water them with newe muſte of good defires, and thā the good goddis wyl be content with the ſeruices that we ought to do for the merites and rewardes that they do to vs, ſo that if we deſire to attayne golde for our werkes, yet to pay vs with the copper of our good defires. And fi- 7270 nally I ſay to you Claudius and Claudyne, if ye haue offered the meale of your youth to vyces, offre now at this tyme the branne of your age to the goddis. I haue wrytten thus largely to you as I thynke: and bycauſe ye ſhal not be taken as cowardes, nor I for hardy, gyue no part 7275 of this letter to any perſon.

¶ And I deſyre you to haue me recommended vnto all my neyghbours in Rome, namely to Drufine the honourable wydowe. I ſende to the two thouſand ſexters, thou ſhalte gyue a thouſande [sic] of them to Gaurina the dough- 7280 ter of thy doughter. I ſende it to her for a pleaſure that ſhe dydde me at a feaſte. Fauſtyne my wyfe is very ſycke. Thou ſhalte gyue the other thouſande to the Ueſtale virgines, that they maye praye for her vnto the goddis. To the Claudyne, Fauſtyne my wyfe ſendeth a coffre, but 7285 by the goddes I canne not telle what there is within it.

Nowe that ye be aeged, I beſeche the goddes to ſende you and me and my wyfe for to ende the reſte of our dayes in a good lyfe. Marke your neyghbour and frende hath wryten this with his owne hande.

A letter

(*f. 116) *¶ A letter sente fro Marke the Emperour to Labinia a Romain widow for to comfort her for the deth of her husbande. The .v. [sic] letter.



Arke of mounte Celio, firſte Conſule Ro- 7290
mayne ſent ageynſte the Daces, to the La-
binia Romain lady, wyfe to my good frēde
Claudine, ſalute to the and conſolation of
the goddis conſolators. I thynke welle,
thou haſte ſuſpecte, that I haue ſo lytel ſet 7295
by the, ſith in thy profounde 7 greuouſ hurtes my conſo-
lation hath ben ſlouthfull. But I remembre thy noble-
nes, whiche can neuer fayle: and my good wyll, the whi-
che hath euer deſired to ſerue the. I am in ſuretie that thy
great vertue ſhulde put away the ſuſpecte. For thoughe 7300
I am the laſte to comforte the, yet I am the firſte that ſe-
leth thy dolours, and ſhall not be the laſte to remedy thy
troubles. And in caſe that ignorance is the end of al ver-
tues, eſperance for al vices, as wel ſomtime great pleaſure
taketh away reſt fro the wiſe folkes, 7 ſclādreth the inno- 7305
centes: moch better among vs latyns we fynd with igno-
rance of vices, more thā the grekes do with the knowlege
of vertues. If ſ̃ we be ignorāt, we haue no payne to abide
it, nor ſorow to take it. I ſay it bicauſe I haue knowē, ſ̃ I
wold not know, and that is the trauayles ar at an ende of 7310
Claudin thy huſbande, 7 now beginneth the ſorow of La-
binia. I haue knowē it certayn days, 7 wold not diſcouer
it to ſ̃, for it ſhuld haue bē cruelte. She ſ̃ hath ben in trou-
ble ſo lōge a ſpace with abſēce, ſ̃ I ſhuld haue giuē know-
lege of the deth of ſuch an entierly deſired huſbād, 7 it had 7315
ben no reſon, that ſhe of whom I haue receiued ſo many
good dedis, ſhuld haue of me ſo yl newes. And ſith ſ̃ hour
ſ̃ I knew, that ye wyſt therof, my payne hath ben double.
I ſele

(*f. 116^b) *I fele his dethe, and nowe I fele in his dethe my folytarines, and thy defolation. Thou haft reason to wepe, not for that he is with the goddis in reſte, but for vs myſerable perſons lyuinge in the power of ſo many ylles, therefore we ſhulde not ceaſe to take payne and ſorowe. O Labinia, oftentymes I haue thoughte, for what thyng I myght fyrſte wepe, for the ylle that lyueth, or for the good that dyeth. For as moche hurteth the yll that is found, as the good that is loſte. It is greatte payne to ſe theſe innocentes dye, and ſurely it is no leſſe payne to ſe the malicious people lyue. But of that that of neceſſitie muſte nedes come, whan it cometh we ought not to ſclaunder hit. Shewe me Labinia, doſt thou nowe know of how good conuerſation the goddis be, to whom we hope to go, and howe yll the men be, with whom we are conuerſant, that as the yll are borne to dye, in lykewyſe the good dyeth to lyue. For a good man alway lyueth in dyenge, and the yll alwayes dyeth in lyuinge. And than ſith the goddis hath cauſed him to come to them, than it is no great thyng that they haue taken fro the. I am in certaine thy deſired husband Claudyn, and my true frend, ſeing where he is, and remembrynge what he hath ſcaped, had rather to be ſtylle there as he is, than to returne ageyn to the. Of trouthe the remedies for wydowes is not to thynke of any companye paſſed, nor of the folytarines preſent, but to thinke of the reſt that they hope to come to. If hythervnto thou haſt bē in payne abydinge in thy howſe, nowe reioyce the bycauſe he abydeth for the in his, for thou ſhalt be moch better en, [sic] treated amonge the goddis than here amonge men: nor conſent not to thynke, that thou haſte loſte hym all onely. For ſyth we all reioyced of his lyfe, we are than bound to wepe for his dethe. The greateſt ſorowe to a ſycke harte amonge all other ſorowes, is to ſe other reioyce at his dolors,

(*f. 117) *Iours: and contrarye wyfe, the greattest ease amonge all greues of fortune, is to se that other feleth their sorowe. Al that my frend wepeth for me with his eies, and al that he feleth of my sorowes, dischargeth somewhat myn in-⁷³⁵⁵ warde payne. The bokes in the tyme of Auguste the emperour sheweth, howe as he was nere to the ryuer of Danubius, he founde a maner of people, hauynge this custome. The same houre whan a husbände taketh a wyfe, or a louer, they wold swere by their goddis neuer to wepe⁷³⁶⁰ nor sorowe for any maner of infortune, but to forget their owne propre troubles, and to dye to remedye their louer, 7 so in lykewise eche to do with other. O glorious worlde, O right happy age, O people of eternall memorie, wherin the men were so humble, and their louers so true, that⁷³⁶⁵ wolde forgette their owne sorowe, and wepe for other. O Rome beyng Rome: O tyme yll spent: O lyfe yll applied, O small thought rechelesse, Is in these dayes the hartes present separate from welth, and assured without remedy in euyl, that men forgettyng that they be men,⁷³⁷⁰ tourne them selfe to beastes? I desire to gyue the lyfe, and thou dyest to take awaye my lyfe: Thou wepest to se me laugh, and I laugh to se the wepe. And thus without profyte of any of vs we lese, and we reioyce in lesynge of our selfe. By the lawe of an honest man I swere to the Labi-⁷³⁷⁵ nia, if thy remedy lay in my handes, as thy sorowe dothe at my herte, thy pytiefulle wepynges shoulde not hurte me, nor thy heuy and wofull solytarynes of thy husband: but syth thy remedy and my desire can not be accomplished, and that with dethe, nor with them that be deed we⁷³⁸⁰ haue no power, than remyt it into the handes of the goddis, who can moche better delyuer vs than we can chuse. We se by experience naturall, that some syckenes is healed by wordes, that be sayd to vs, and somme by wordes that

(*f.117^b) 7385 *that be layde to vs, and some with wordes do leaue other
 medicins. I say this, bicause the hartis that be in payne
 make a fee of thoughtes, somtyme comforted with bene-
 fitis done to the person, more than with wordes spoken in
 their eares: an other tyme the sorowfull herte is more cō-
 7390 comforted with wordes of a frende, than with all other serui-
 ces of the worlde. O how sorowfull am I, for in all these
 am I false, confiderynge the highnes of the honourable
 lady Romayn, and the smal abilitie of me Marc of moult
 Celio, I fe my selfe so vnable to comforte the, and to re-
 7395 medy the I lack substance, I haue made the a fore woūd,
 the whiche wolde be taken in worthe. I wyll not paye the
 with ynke and paper, the whiche I may do with my per-
 sone, for he that gyueth counsell with wordes, may reme-
 dy with workes, if he shew hym self a frende in tyme past,
 7400 and taken in suspect to be an ennemy in tyme to come. If
 thou hast reputed me hytherto for thy neighbour and pa-
 rent to thy husbände, I pray the nowe to take me for [sic] thy
 husbände in loue, and for thy father in counsell, and for
 sonne in seruyce, and for aduocate in the senate, in suche
 7405 maner that I hope thou shalt say, all that I haue losse in
 many, I haue founde in Marc alone. And bycause that
 in greuous conflyctis, where as crafte and subtyltie is
 forgotten, the vnderstondynge is altered, and the reason
 withdraweth, than there is as moche necessitie of good
 7410 counsell as of a meane remedy. Claudyn nowe deed was
 my frende, and I Marc alyue am his, and also by thy de-
 seruynge thou mayst commaunde me what thou wylte:
 and for the loue that I haue to the, thou mayste desyre of
 me any thyng nedefull. I pray the eschewe the extremitie
 7415 of the Romaine wydowes. For in all extremities lyeth
 the vice, for al such werieth them selfe, 7 anoyeth the god-
 dis, 7 leseth them that be aliue, 7 doth no profit to them y
 be

(*f. 118) *be deed, but they put suspect to them y be il, as did Fulvia wife to nable [sic] Marc Mercello, she seing her husband buried in the felde of Mars, scratched, her visage, and tare ⁷⁴²⁰ her heer, 7 brake her tethe, 7 at euery pace swounded, 7 two senators held her by the armes, bicause she shuld not hurt her self: Thā said Flauig Cenfuriq, let her alone, for this day she wil folow the iourney of widowes, 7 so it was, for whiles y the bones of Marcello were a brēning, she was ⁷⁴²⁵ entreting to mary an other hufbād, 7 yet more to be notid one of the senatours y led her, gaue her his hande, as one Romain to another bi perpetual mariage. This case was so foule, 7 takē of euery mā for a gret vilanie, 7 al the Romans there present were abashed, 7 were in suspect neuer ⁷⁴³⁰ after to beleue widow in Rome. I say not this Labinia, bycause thou wilt do so: for by the god Mars I swere, the hart of Marc hath of y no such suspect, nor thy great age wyl not suffre it, nor the auctoritie of so sadde a matrone wyll demande it. I require the right hartily, forgette not ⁷⁴³⁵ the honestie that oughte to be in a Romaine woman, nor retrayte that is requisitte in a wydowe: for if thou be wydowe of folytarines, that thou felest by him that is deed, than comfort the of the reputaion [sic] that is holden of the by them that be liuing. I wyl say no more to the at this time, ⁷⁴⁴⁰ but that thy renoume may be suche with all men, to caste suche a bridell vppon theym that be ylle, to cause them to be stīl: and to them that be good, to gyue them spurres to serue the. And if ye wyll thus do, take no thought for any besynes that ye haue in the senate. My wyfe Faustine gre- ⁷⁴⁴⁵ teth the, and oftentymes wepeth for this mysadventure. I send the money to pay thy creditours. The goddis that haue gyuen reste to Claudine thy hufbande, giue comfort and consolation to Labinia his wyfe. Marc of mounte Celio hath writen this with his owne hande. ⁷⁴⁵⁰

A letter

(*f.118^b) *C A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Cyncina
tus his frende, bycause he beinge a gentyl-
man became a marchant.
The .vii. letter.



Arc Edillis Censure, to the Cincinatus
of Capue sende salutation for thy per-
son, force and vertue ayenst sinyfter for-
tune. Syth the feast Berescinte, moder
7455 of the goddis, I haue sene no seruauant
of thy house, nor letter of thy hand, that
I haue redde, the whiche putteth me in
great suspection of thy helthe, and that thou arte in some
peryll, or els thou disprayfest our amitie. Discharginge
7460 not thy selfe with so lyttell thoughte, nor forgette vs nat
with so great rechelefnes: for thy trauaylle can not be so
omche [sic] in writing, as it shuld be consolation to me to rede
thy letters. And if thy hande waxe slowe from trauaylle
of writynge, yet enforce thy harte for myn ease, wherin is
7465 semblaunt of true frendes. In that I wyl put the fro an-
noyaunce, and thou to do me pleasure: thou knowest wel
the small distaunce that is betwene Capue and mount Ce-
lio, was not the cause of our frendeshyppe, but the space
hens to Illirico shuld not cause vs to be straungers. The
7470 delycate wyne sent out of their owne countrey to stran-
gers take the gretter myght: and the ferther that the per-
sons of true frendes be seperate, the sooner they ought to
vnyte 7 ioyne togyther their mindes. Shew me I pray I
Cyncinate, syth thou hast euer founde me true, why hast
7475 thou any suspect of my desyre? The grene leues outward
sheweth, that the tree is not drye inwarde: and the good
werkes openly notifieth the inwarde hart secretly. Where
it is not perfite, there is always breakyng and faylyng in
seruice:

(*f. 119) *seruice: for he that perfytyl loueth, perpetually and faith fully serueth. And I am as moche astonied of thy slouth, ⁷⁴⁸⁰ in demaundyng somewhat of me, as of thy cowardyse to write. I wyll confesse to the one trouthe, if thou haddest as moche hardynes as wyll and thought of the small efecte of my letter myght satisfie to the greatenes of thyn vnderstondyng, it shulde abyde than for yl done, but not ⁷⁴⁸⁵ for shorte, as he that throweth his speare. In tyme paste whan I was yonge, and thou olde, thou in thy counsels, 7 I with my money eche gaue to other: but at this houre that thy heed is whyte, men reken the to be olde, 7 yet thy workes accuse the to be yonge. Reason is that I succour ⁷⁴⁹⁰ thy pouertie with money, 7 to remedy thy lyghtnes with counsell. For the good wyl that I haue to the, and for the lawe of amitie that I owe to the, I wyll aduertise the as a vertuous man ought to do, and that is to remembre the benefites that he hath receyued, and to forget the iniuries ⁷⁴⁹⁵ done to hym: esteeme moche his owne small power, and holde the greatnes of other at nothyng: fauour the good and diffimule with the euyll: be great with the greatest, and communicalle with your inferiours: presently doo good dedes, and also of them that be absent speake good ⁷⁵⁰⁰ wordes: The greuous losses of fortune, holde them in small estimation, and the small losse of honour, hold that in great estimation: for one thyng aduenture not money. and for dyuers doubtful aduenture not a certayntie: and finally be frende to one and ennemie to none. These thin- ⁷⁵⁰⁵ ges ought he to haue, that amonge good, wyl be accompted good. I knowe well thou hast left to be pretour of the warre, and nowe thou haste sette thy selfe by lande and by see to vse marchandise. Thou makest me fore abashed, to conquere thyn ennies as a Romayn, and now to take on ⁷⁵¹⁰ the the office, to persecute thy frendes as a tyrant. Wylte thou

(*f. 119^b) *thou do yll to thy neyghbours, and leaue the straungers?
 wylt thou take away the lyuynge fro hym that gyueth vs
 liuing, 7 take away the deth fro him that takith away our
 7515 life? wylt thou to them that be mouers and ftrangers giue
 moderation, 7 fro them that be sobre take away their rest?
 Thou wylte giue to them that take away fro vs, and take
 fro them that gyue vs: delyuer them that be condemned
 and condempne innocentis. Thou wylt be tiraunt to the
 7520 common welth, and not defender of the countrey. Than
 fithe to all this he aduentureth hym that leaueth dedes of
 armes, and becometh a marchaunt: I studye soore what
 hath meued the to leaue chiualrie, wherin thou hafte had
 great honour, and nowe to take on the an office, wherby
 7525 foloweth so moche shame and rebuke. Surely I thinke
 in the none other excufe, but that thou art olde, and canst
 not clymbe the mountaynes, and nowe thou fyttest styлле
 and robbest the places. To olde men olde malady, whan
 outwarde force fayleth theym, than forthwith they arme
 7530 them with malyce inwarde. I say it by the fore couetous
 perfons as thou art now. One thyng I wyl say thou hast
 taken an office, wherby al thy felowes haue robbed in di-
 uers days. Thou shalt gyue accompt therof in one houre,
 ye and after the tyme shall come, that thou shalt lese all in
 7535 a moment. For the goddis permyt that one shall be a cha-
 stifement of diuers, and longe tyme chastifeth all. Howe
 is it my frende Cincynate, that in the howse of thy father
 Cincinate were speares, and not writynges hangynge? I
 haue sene his halle full of armnre [sic], and not with fardels, 7
 7540 portall and gates ful of knyghtes, 7 not marchantis. Cer-
 tainly there haue I sene the scole of noblenes, and not as
 it is now the denne of theues. O Cincinate curfed be so vi-
 layn an office, the marchātis liue porely to die ryche: 7 let
 vs say ageyn curfed be it, bicaufe the couetife of one that
 is yll,

(*f. 120) *is yll, wolde be accomplyffhed to the preiudice of many ý 7545
 be good. I wyll not hurt the by thy predeceffours, but I
 wyl aduertise the of thy myserie and of thy successeffours. If
 thou thinkest, ý thy vertue shuld holde to the ende of the
 worlde, as the worlde holdeth to the, as it semeth by thy
 white heares, hold me excused of the trauayle in perswa- 7550
 dyng the to here me. How be it, it is reson that the gate of
 so great a cause be knocked at with the hāmer of som war-
 nyng, 7 to bring it to good reson, of necessitie it must passe
 the mylle, and to make clere the vnderstāding from tyme
 to tyme, of very nede there requireth counsel. Diuers ty- 7555
 mes wyse mē fayle bicause they wold fayle, but if the thin
 ges be of suche qualitie, that wysedom suffiseth not to as-
 sure them, than it is nedefull, that his wyll be vntied, and
 his vnderstondinge dissolued, and his owne propre opi-
 nion voyde, and than incontynent to take a threde to the 7560
 aduysē of an other. Take good hede Cincinate, where as
 the fōundations be not wel edified, the buildynges ar in pe-
 ryl. The dongeon of this world wherin we chyl dren of va-
 nitie do abyde, is founded on the grauell. For let it be ne-
 uer so sumptuous, yet a lyttell blaste of wynde wyl cause 7565
 it to shake, and a lyttell heate of prosperitie wyl open it,
 and a lyttell rayne of aduersitie wyl diuide it, and with-
 in a short whyle or space, whan we least take hede, it wyl
 falle all flatte on the erth. If the pyllers be of syluer, and
 benches of gold, and though the benchers be kynges, and 7570
 continue a thousande yere: 7 rule into the entrayles of the
 erthe: yet they can fynde no stedfaste rocke nor moũtayne
 wherin to cloose the goodes of their predeceffours, and
 their estates perpetual. The goddis immortal haue made
 al thinges cōmunicable to mē mortal, except īmortalite: 7 7575
 therefore they be callid īmortal, bicause they neuer dy, 7 we
 be called mortal and fallyng, bicause we all take an ende.

How

(*f. 120^b) *How stronge so euer the walles be, yet great age causeth
 it to falle to ruiue[sic]. Two thinges semeth to be fre, the whi-
 7580 che fortune can not set abacke, nor the tyme cause to be for
 gotten, 7 they be these: The good or yll renoume among
 men, and the payne or rewarde that they that be good or
 ylle haue of the goddis. O my frende Cincinate, thus a-
 cheueth the perfonas, but the goddes neuer. What grene
 7585 or rype or rotten holdeth any season the fruyte of the tree
 floured? I esteeme it nothinge bycause it must dye by na-
 ture. Howe be it dyuers tymes in leaues and flowres we
 beare the frost of some malady, or the blast of some enui-
 ous myshappe. Longe is the webbe in making: but that
 7590 is made in many days, is cut a soder in a moment: Sem-
 blably it is a pitous thyng to se a man dye with so great
 trauayle, and to be sette in the state of honour, and after
 whan we, neyther regardynge the one, nor the other, and
 yet we se it perishe. And without any memorie of any thing
 7595 abidyng. O my frende Cincinate, for the loue betwene
 vs I pray the, and by the immortal goddis I coniure the,
 beleue not the worlde, the which vnder the colour of a ly-
 tell golde, to hyde moche fylthynes, and vnder colours of
 trouthe to chaunge vs into a. M. lyes, and for a shorte de-
 7600 lyte to gyue vs a. M. displeasures. To them whom it she-
 weth most loue, it begyleth with greatest tromperies: to
 whom the worlde giueth moste goodes it procureth moste
 domages: to them that serueth it with mockeries, hit re-
 wardeth with true recompences: and to them that loue it
 7605 truly, it giueth them goodes of mockeries: finally whan
 we slepe mooste surest, it waketh vs with greatte perylle.
 What wylte thou say than of the worlde, shewe me? One
 thyng I wyll telle the, and me thynke thou shuldest not
 forgette it: and that is, men oughte not beleue the vayne
 7610 vanities that we se with our eies, rather than the greatte
 mer-

(*f. 121) *meruayles that we here with our eres. One thing I haue regarded, and by long experience I haue knowen it, that but a fewe houles paynted, nor stalles reyfled vp we haue sene in Rome: but of a small tyme they take no thoughte for the walles, but they haue cruelle enmities with theyr⁷⁶¹⁵ neyghbours, and great anoye of their heires, and importunate flame of their frendes, and double malice of their ennemies, 7 enuious profite in y^e senate, and sometyme to put a gouernour out of possession they set foure in honor: and finally all that with great thought hath be gadered⁷⁶²⁰ for their chyld, whome they loue wel with great rest, some time an other heire enioyeth it, of whom they thinke leest. It is a iuste sentence, that suche as begyle dyuers with yll dedes in their lyfe, shuld be begyled of their vayn thoughtes at their deth. Cruel shulde the goddis be, and ryghte⁷⁶²⁵ greuous for men to suffre (that the yll that haue gathered for one heire in the preiudyce of dyuers y^e be good) shulde enioye it many yeres. Me thinke it shulde be a fouerayne foly to be borne wepynge, and to dye fighyng, and to lyue laughyng. The rule to gouerne al partes ought to be e-⁷⁶³⁰ gall. O Cincinate, who hath begyled the, that for a potte full of water, thou haste nede of a greatte laake of this worlde to passe thy wretched lyfe? wylt thou flee away the skynne of thy handis with the corde of thoughtes, breke thy body in batayle with great trauayle, and aduenture⁷⁶³⁵ thyn honour for one potte of water? What wylte thou more that I shuld say? but that to fyll a potte of thy goodes thou wylte suffre a. M. perylles. And in the vyle exercyfyng of thy marchandyse, thou doubtest not for lesing of thy credence. And fynally I fwere to the, thou shalte⁷⁶⁴⁰ abyde deed for thurste, as though there were no water in the feldes. If thou wylt do by my counsayle, desire dethe of the goddis, to reste the as an aeged wyfe man: and demaunde

(*f. 121^b) *maunde not rycheffe to lyue yll as a yonge fole. I haue
 7645 fore wepte for many, that I haue seen in Rome departed
 out of this worlde, and for the I haue wepte droppes of
 blode, to se the returne newly vylely to the worlde. My
 amyte and the credyte of the senate, the bloud of thy pre-
 deceffours, the auctorite of thy person, and the honour of
 7650 thy countrey oughte to refrayne thy coueytousnesse. O
 frende, the whyte heares sheweth honour and wyfdome,
 the whych shuld exercise and be occupied in noble dedes.
 Regarde, it vayleth more to folowe reason by the wayes
 of them that be good, than the comyn opinion, whiche is
 7655 the large waye of theym that be yll. For thoughe the one
 be strayte for the fete, it refeth no dufte for to blynd the ei-
 en as the other dooth, to lyghte yonge perfonnes, whych
 procure lyghtnesse: ygnoraunce excuseth theym, but the
 difordinate couetife of the olde perfons, causeth theym to
 7660 occupye theyr lyfe with trauayle, and to take deathe with
 greate anoyaunce, and in the one as welle as in the other
 abydethe greatte infamy. O Cincinate take this councel
 of a frende: Charge not thy lyfe with takynge of these
 vayne goodes, fith thou hafte soo smalle a morfell of thy
 7665 lyfe. For fuche as thou arte, we se confume, and wafte,
 and not to quicken: put no truste in frendes in the present
 prosperite, for it is a pronostication of an euylle fortune.
 And fyth thou arte in a hafarde lyke a foole, me thynke
 thou oughtest to descende a fote lyke a sage persone. And
 7670 thus euery man wyll saye, howe Cyncynate is discended
 and not fallen,[] I wyl saye no more, but the goddes be thy
 fauegarde, and defende bothe the and me from gylefulle
 fortune. My wyfe Faustine saluteth the, for that I shuld
 write this letter, and hath coniured me to write this worde
 7675 to the, that is, she sayth thou oughtest to haue wyt, whan
 thy necke is full of heare, and I thinke thou oughtest in-
 continent

(*f. 122) *cōtinent to take a barber 7 shawe away the heere, that thy wyt may come forth, [.] I wolde thy couetyse shulde forsake the, 7 folye Faustine, 7 the gowte me, 7 ȳ soner our soules may departe fro our fleshe, than gile shuld remaine in our hartes. Marc of moūt Celio writeth this with his hande. 7680

¶ A letter sente fro Marc the emperour to Catulus cenforius, that was sorofull for the death of his sonne Uerissimus.
The .viii. letter.



Arc censure newe and yonge, salute and reuerence to the Catulus cenforius olde and aunciente. I haue written two letters to the, and thou haste made aunswere to none of theym. 7685
If it be bycause thou couldest not, I holde my peace: If it be bycause thou woldest not, than I complayne me: If it be for forgetfulnes, than I accuse the: If it be bycause thou setteste lyttelle by me, than I appeale the: If thou haste dreamed, that thou haste wrytten, I saye beleue not 7690 in dreames: And if thou wylte not it shulde vayne to gloryfye me as a frende, yet thou mightest take it write in aduertising 7 repreuinge as the father to the son. Yonge vertuous persons are bounde to honour auncient wise men, 7 no lesse olde wyse men oughte endoctrine the yonge people and very yonge, as I am. A iuste thyng it is that the new forces of youth supply 7 serue them that ar worne by age. For theyr long experience mocketh our tendre age 7 7695 natural ignorance. Youth is il applied, when it surmōteth the force of the body, 7 faylleth the vertues of the soule: 7 7700 age is honored, wherin the force drieth outwarde, wherby vertues quickneth the more inward. we mai se the tre whē the fruite is gadered, the leaues fallen, and flowers drye than

(*f. 122^b) *than more grene and perfyte are the rootes. I meane that
 7705 whan the first selson of youth is passed, which is the Sommer tyme, than cometh age called wynter, and putrifieth the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour fall, and the floures of delyte are wyddered, 7 the veynes of hope dried outwarde, than it is right, that moche better the
 7710 tes of good workes within be good. They that be old and auncient ought to prayse their good werkes rather than their white heares. For honour ought to be gyuen for the good lyfe, and not for the whyte heade. Glorious is that common welthe, and fortunate is that prince, that is lord
 7715 of yonge men to trauayle, and ancient persons to coucell. As to regard the susteynyng of the naturalitie of the life, in lykewise ought to be confydered the polycie of gouernaunce, the whiche is that al the fruites come nor drie not al at ones, but whan one begynneth an other fayleth. And
 7720 in this maner ye that be auncyent teachynge vs, and we obedient, as olde fathers and yonge pulletes, beinge in the neste of the senate: Of some their fethers fallyng, and other yonge fethered: and where as the olde fathers can not flye, their trauayles are maynteyned by their tender
 7725 chyl dren. Frende Catulus, I purposed not to wryte one lyne this yere, bycause my penne was troubled with thy flouth: but the smalnesse of my spirite, and the greatte peryll of myn offices always called on me to demande thy counfel. This priuilege the old wife men holdeth in their
 7730 houfes where they dwell: They are alwayes lordes ouer them that be symple, and are sclaues to them that be wife. I thynke thou haste forgotten me, thynkyng that sythe the dethe of my dere sonne Uerissimus, the tyme hath ben so longe, that I shulde forgette it. Thou hast occasion to
 7735 thynke so, for many thynges renneth in tyme, that reason can not helpe. But in this case I can not tel whiche is the
 greatest

(*f. 123) *greatest, thy trumperie or my dolour. I sweare to the by the goddis immortall, that the hungry wormes in the entayles of the vnhappy chylde, are not so puifant, as are the cruell dolours in the hart of the father fore wounded. 7740 And it is no comparifon, for the fon is deed but one tyme, 7 y heuy father dieth euery moment. What wilt thou more that I fhulde fay? but that one ought to haue enuy of his deth, 7 compaffiō of my lyfe, bicaufe in dienge he liueth, 7 in lyuinge I dye. In yl fortunes in cafe of lyfe, 7 in y sub- 7745 tyll aduerfes of fortune, where as her gyles profyteth but lyttell, and her ftrengh leffe, I thynke the beſte remedye is to fele it as a man, and diffimule it as diſcrete and wiſe. If all thynges as they be felte at herte fhulde be ſhewed outwarde with the tonge, I thinke that the wyndes fhuld 7750 breake the harte with fighynges, and water all the erthe with wepynge. O if the corporall eies ſawe the hurte of y harte with a true woūd I ſwere to the, there they fhuld ſe more of a droppe of bloudde ſweatyng within, than all the wepyng that is made outwarde. There is no compa- 7755 ryſon of the great dolours of the bodye, to the leſt payne that the ſpirite feleth. For all trauayles of the body, men may fynde ſome remedy, but if the heuy hart ſpeake it is not harde: if it wepe, it is not ſene: if it complayne, it is not beleued. What ſhall the poore harte do? Abhorre the 7760 lyfe, wherwith it dieth, 7 deſire deth, wherwith it lyueth. The high vertues amonge noble vertuouſ people conſiſteth not al onely to ſuffre the paſſions of the body, but alſo to diffimule them of the ſowle. They be ſuche that altereth the humours, and ſheweth it not outwarde: It brin 7765 geth a feuer without alteryng the poulce. It altereth the ſtomake: It maketh vs to knele to the erth, it ſuffreth the water vp to the mouth, 7 to take death with out leauyng of the lyfe. And fynally it lengtheth our lyfe, to thentente that

(*f. 123 b) 777^o *that we shulde haue the more traueyle, and denyethe vs
our sepulture, to thentente that we shulde not reste vs.
But confiderynge, if I be troubled with tribulations, as
well am I lette with cōsolations. For euer I haue eyther
defyre of the one, or werines of the other. I take this
777^o remedye to diffimule with the tongue, and to wepe with
the eyes, and to fele it with my harte, I passe my lyfe, as
he that hapethe to lese all that he hath, and neuer to reco-
uer that is lost: I say this, though ye se me not nowe make
funerall wepynges and waylynges, as I dyd at the deth
778^o of my sonne, yet thynke not but it doth brenne by harte, so
that with the inwarde greate heate is consumed the hu-
myditie of the eyes outwarde, for it brenneth all my spi-
rytes inwarde. Thou mayste knowe what an honoura-
ble father suffrethe to lese a good chylde: In all thynges
778^o the goddes be lyberall, excepte in gyuyng vs vertuous
chyl dren: where there is abundaunce of greatte estates,
there is greatteste scarcitie of good inherytours. It is a
greate hurte to here, and greater to see, how these fathers
clyme to haue ryches, and to se theyr chyl dren discend to
779^o haue vycyousenes. To see the fathers honour theyr chil-
dren, and the chyl dren to infame theyr fathers, yea and
the fathers to gyue reste to theyr chyl dren, and the chyl dren
to gyue trouble to theyr olde fathers, yea and sometyme
the faders dye for sorowe that theyr chyl dren dye so soone,
779^o and we se the chyl dren wepe bycause theyr fathers dye soo
late. What shoulde I saye more, but that the honour and
ryches that the fathers haue procured with gret thought,
the chyl dren lese it with lyttell care. I am certayne of one
thyng, that the fathers may gather ryches with strength
780^o and crafte, to susteyne theyr chyl dren, but the goddes will
not haue durable that that is begon with euyll intention,
and is founded to the preiudice of other, and is possessed
with

(*f. 124) *with an euyl heyre. And though the heuy deftenyes of the father permit, that ý riches be left to theyr chyldrē to serue them in all theyr vyces for theyr pastyme, at last according ⁷⁸⁰⁵ to theyr merytes, the goddes wil that the heyre 7 heritage shulde peryshe. Marke what I saye, I had two sonnes, Comode 7 the prince Uerissimus, the yonger is deed, that was gretest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the good liued, I shuld be poore, 7 now that the yl remaineth, ⁷⁸¹⁰ I thinke to be ryche. I shal shew the why, the goddes are so pyteful, that to a poore father they neuer gyue yl child: 7 to a riche fader they neuer giue a good childe. And as in al prosperite alway there falleth some finestre fortune, eyther soone or late, therwith fortune doth arme and apparel vs, ⁷⁸¹⁵ wherin she seeth we shal fal to our gretest hurt. And therefore the goddes permit that the couetous faders in gaderynge with great trauaile shuld die with that hurt, to leue their riches to their vicious childrē yl implied. I wepe as moch for my child ý the goddes haue left me, as for him ý ⁷⁸²⁰ they haue taken fro me. For the small esteeme of hym that liueth maketh immortal memory of him ý is deed. The yl rest 7 cōuersatiō of them that liue cause vs to syghe for the company of them that be deed. The yll is alway defyred for his ilnes to be deed, 7 the good alway meriteth to haue ⁷⁸²⁵ his deth bewayled. I say my frend Catulo, I thought to haue lost my wit, whā I sawe my son Ueriffime die, but I toke comfort ayen: for eyther he of me, or I of hym must fe the ende. Confidering ý the goddes did but lene him to me 7 gaue him not, 7 how they be inheritors, 7 I to haue the ⁷⁸³⁰ vse of the fruit. For al thing is mesured by the iust wil of ý goddes, 7 not by our difordinat wils 7 appetites. I think whan they toke away from me my childe, I restored him to another, and not that they haue taken myne. But sith it is the wil of the goddes to giue rest to the good childe, ⁷⁸³⁵ and

(*f. 124^b) *and hurte the father bycause he is yll, I yelde thanks to them, for the season that they haue suffred me to enioye his lyfe: And for the pacience that I haue take for his deth, I desyre them to mytigate therewith the chaftisement
 7840 of theyr yre. And I desyre, fythe they haue taken away the lyfe fro this chylde, to cause good customes to be in the prynce myne other sonne. I knowe what heuynesse thou hast take in Rome for my sorowe. I pray to the goddes to send y^e ioye of thy chylde, 7 that I maye rewarde
 7845 the with some ioye, for that thou hast wepte for my peyne. My wyfe Fauptyne saluteth the: and thou woldeste haue compassion to se her: For she wepeth with her eyes, 7 sigheth with her harte, and with her handes hurteth her selfe, and curseth with her tonge. She eateth nothyng on the
 7850 daye, nor slepeth in the nyghte. She loueth derknesse, 7 abhorreth lyghte, and therof I haue no meruayle: for it is reason, that for that was noryshed in her entayles, she shulde fele sorowe in the same. And the loue of the moders are [!] so strange thoughe her chylde be deed and layed in se-
 7855 pulture, yet alwayes she hath hym quicke in her herte. It is a generall rule, that the person that is enterly beloued causeth euer gret grefe at the deth. And as for me I passe the life ryghte sorowfully: thoughe I shewe a ioyful face, yet I wante myrth at my harte. And among wyse men be-
 7860 ynge sorowfull: and shewynge theyr faces mery, is none other thyng but buryenge the quicke, hauynge no sepulture. And I swere by the goddes immortall I fele moche more than I haue sayd. And dyuers tymes me thynke I shuld fall downe, bycause I dare not wepe with myn eies,
 7865 yet I fele it inwardely. I wolde fayne comyn with the in dyuers thynges. Come I praye the to Bryette, to thentēt that we maye speake together. And fyth it hath pleased the goddes to take my chylde fro me, that I loued so well,

(*f. 125) *I wolde counceyl with the that art my louyng frende. But fewe dayes passed there came hyther an ambaffadour fro the Rodes, to whome I gaue the mooste parte of my horses: 7 fro the fortheft parte of Spaine there were brought me .viii. of whiche I sende the .iiii. I wolde they were such as myghte please the. The goddes be thy safegarde, and sende me and my wyfe some ioye. Marcus Aurelius ryght forowfull hath written this with his owne hande.

¶ A letter sente by Marc the emperour to
 Marcurino being at Sannye nowe
 called Benaunte.
 The .ix. letter.



Y speecialle frende and auntyente companyon, a messager of thyne, 7 a lackey of myne wente oute together at Capue, the one bare my desyre and affection to the, and the other broughte a letter to me. And if thou loke well, thou mayst see my harte as ful of thoughtes, as I see thy letter ful of complayntes. Thou dost send to comfort me in my feuer tercyan, I thanke the greatly therof, and hit is come in a good season. For the goynge of the feuer out of my poulse, and the ioye of thy letter to my spyrite is all one. And surely if this case be leste in my hande, and that my feuer retourne not, than thy consolatiō shal serue. Lo beholde the mesery of man, that presumeth to take away realmes from other, 7 yet can not take the feuer oute of my bones. Thou knowest well that we loue togeder, and of a longe season thyne amyte hath trusted in me. My trouthe byndethe me, that thyne ylles shoulde be myne, and my goodes thyne. And there is true loue, where be

two

(*f. 125 b) *two bodyes seperate, 7 but one harte together. And than
 is but a bytter loue, where the hartes be as ferre asonder,
 as the straungenes of theyr persones. Take hede I praye
 the, that our loue be not inuenimed with vnkyndnes, nor
 7900 our remembraunce enpoysoned with smalle thoughtes,
 and I beinge another then thou arte here, 7 thou being a-
 nother than I am there, in maner that myne absence with
 thy presence, 7 my presence with thy absence may speke to-
 gether. Thy messager hath shewed me the losse of thy go-
 7905 des, and by thy letter I knowethe[sic] anguysshe of thy per-
 sonne. And it hath ben shewed me, that thou haste hadde
 a shyppe perished, and that thy factours lyke wyse men,
 to saue theyr personnes dydde throwe thy marchandise in
 to the see. Me thynke thy shyppe hathe eased the of thy
 7910 charge. But I thynke, as it semeth by the, they threw not
 so many fardels in to the see, as thoughtis into thy harte.
 And accordynge as thou were before, I shoulde be more
 bounde to serche for thy leade and tynne, thanne for thy
 harte. Thy leade is sonken to the bottome, but thy coun-
 7915 selle is spredde abrode ouer all the worlde. If thou shul-
 deste nowe dye, and thy bodye be opened, for trouthe I
 thynke, that thy hart shuld be rather found drowned with
 thy leade, than alyue with thy bodye. O Mercurius, at
 this houre thou feleste no malady of any feuer terciar, as
 7920 I doo, for the harte of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy
 spirite causeth the to haue a quartayne. And this euyll is
 not in the body, but in the shyppe, nat on the erthe, but in
 the see: Not with phisicians, but philosphers I counsel
 the to seke helth: For there thy lyfe is drowned where thy
 7925 leade is sonken. Be not angrye, for thouge thou haste
 not thy lead with the, thy lead hath the with it. Oftentimes
 auarice seketh out the auaricyous, and somtyme the aua-
 ricious seke auarice. It is shewed me, thou arte sory, by
 cause

(*f. 126) *cause thy damage can haue no remedye: 7 doest thou not know, that where no remedy is, thou oughtest to take pa-⁷⁹³⁰ icence [sic]? O Mercurius, nowe thou knowest, y whan thou dyddest aduenture thy goodes to the suspecious rockes, and thy desires to the depe wawes of the see, and thy courageous auarice to the importunate wyndes 7 thy leed to straunge waters: and as ioyous and desirous as thy fa-⁷⁹³⁵ ctours went forth in trust of wynnyng, as moche nowe thou arte sure of the losse: and thus is thy desire drowned, and thy hope scaped. Doest thou not remembre, that Socrates castynge into the see not leade but golde, not a lytell, but a great deale, not goodes of other mennes, but of⁷⁹⁴⁰ his owne, not by fortune, but by his wysedome, sayinge, I wyll drowne these gylefull rychesses, to the entent that they shall not drowne me: but I thynke if a man shulde see the do so, he shoulde here the saye: O my swete rychesses, I had rather drowne my selfe, than other shulde⁷⁹⁴⁵ drowne you? This auncient wyse man durste not truste in golde, and thou wylte truste on leade: caste lottes amonge your goddis, he of Athenes and thou of Rome. Whiche of you hath most fayled, or elles is most assured? he that caste his golde fro the erthe into the see, or thou⁷⁹⁵⁰ that woldest brynge thy leade out of the see vpon the erth? I knowe that the auncient Romainys wyl say it is he, and the present couetous folke wyll say, it is thy selfe, and I thynke in this thou art disprayed in the prayse therof, 7 y dispreised is alowed of all men. Thy messager told me, y⁷⁹⁵⁵ thou were right sorie and heuy, 7 cryest out in the nyght, callyng on the goddis, 7 wakest thy neyghbours, cōplaynyng on fortune. I am sore displeased for thy heynes, because sorow is nexte frende to thy folytarynes, 7 enmye to cōpany, 7 heire of desperation. I am sory for thy crienges⁷⁹⁶⁰ in the night: for it induceth folly. For the night coueringe

all

(*f. 126^b) *alle the worlde with derknes, thou alone wylte discouer thy hart with crienges. I am not plesed, that thou callest vpon the goddes, bicaufe they haue taken some thyng fro
7965 the: bycaufe thou were aloft, they haue brought the lower: Nor I am not pleased, that thou awakest thy neighbours for thy ryches that caused them to enuye the, thy pacience shuld moue them to cōpassion. Nor I am not cōtent, that thou shuldest so complayn on fortune, for the thing so wel
7970 knowen of many, shulde not be infamed by one alone. O Mercurius remēbre, ȳ with thē, with whom truce is takē, thou wylt entre agayn in to the feld of defiāce. We vnbēde 7 thou wylt spend thy speres. Thou neuer camest into the felde, and yet thou woldest enioy the triumphe. Al be stop-
7975 ped, 7 thou woldest passe surely. Thou yeldest thy selfe to fortune: And doest thou not knowe, how she beteth down the hygh walles, and defendeth the olde rotten howses, 7 peopleth where there lacketh people, 7 vnpeopleth where as people be? Of enmyes she maketh frendes, and of fren
7980 des enmyes, and dispoileth the vanquysfers, 7 crowneth them that be ouercome. Of traytours she maketh trewe men, and trewe men she maketh suspecte personnes. And fynally fortune is luche a maystresse, that she ruleth realmes, ouercommeth armes, beatethe downe kynges, exal-
7985 teth tyrauntes, to the deed gyueth lyfe, and to somme renoume, and to some shame. Why styckest thou to her? Doest thou not remembre the worde that the kyng of the Lacedemonyens hadde at his gate, sayenge, This is the house of the puttynge downe of fortune. In good soothe
7990 these were hyghe wordes and of greate vnderstondyng, he knewe fortune moche better than thou, sith he rekeneth his house at fortune dispositions, and not for enheritāce, and if he hadde loste any thyng, as thou haste doone, he thoughte that she restored it to other as theyrs, and had
not

(*f. 127) *not taken his. Reason holdeth confidence, to argue thy ⁷⁹⁹⁵ treason by that she deposeth the fro thy heyghte to be an heryter: for he that lyueth heryteth deathe, and not death the lyfe, for all dyeth, and it heryteth al in theyr life. Wylt thou take vengeance of that hath giuen the so moch pein. Therefore take this counsell: be frende to fortunes enemy, ⁸⁰⁰⁰ the whiche is the graue: Ouer them that be borne, 7 not ouer them that dyeth is her empyre. O howe many great lordes haue ben the thoughtes of thy harte soo as many wormes shalbe in thyn entayles? What greater victorie may be, than she that ouercometh all lyuers, shalbe van- ⁸⁰⁰⁵ quyshe of the all onely by death. I say one thing to the, that all onely he that is closed in his graue, is assured of all thynges of this lyfe. Thy messager shewed me, that this sommer thou woldest come to Rome, and now that hit is wynter, thou wylte sayle in to Alexandrye. O my ⁸⁰¹⁰ frende Mercurio, whan thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou begynnest to be auaritious. Thou shalt fynde two cities in this worlde in two extremytees, Rome the heed of vice, and Alexaundry the ende of al vertues. I say of thy merchaundyse, in Rome thou dooste charge thy bodye with ⁸⁰¹⁵ vices, and in Alexandrye thy harte with thoughtes. I swere by the othe of a iust man, that thou shalt haue more desyre of that thou leauest, then contentation of that thou bearest away. Thou remembreth not, howe it is wynter, and thou muste passe the see, and but if the pylottes lye to ⁸⁰²⁰ me, the calme season mooste sure is the vygill of the more vnfortune. Thou wylt saye thy shyppes be voyde, 7 therefore they shall goo more surely, I beleue they shall goo more charged with auarice, than they shal come with filk. O what a good chaunge shall it be, if the auarice of Ita- ⁸⁰²⁵ ly myght be chaunged for fylke of Alexandry. I knowe surely theyr fylke wyll lade a shyppe, and our auarice will lade

(*f. 127^b) *lade a hole flete. Great is that couetyfe, whiche the shame
of the worlde dothe not repreue, nor the feare of deathe
8030 stoppe, nor reason appoynt. I fay it, bycause that he whi-
che in fuche a tyme offreth hym selfe to peryl, eyther coue-
tyfe furmounteth hym, or elles vnderftandyng faylethe
hym. And bycause I can fynde none other excufe fufficiēt
to excufe me to the, but that thou arte as moche knowen
8035 by the fee, as vnknownen to the goddis, that is the vnsta-
ble wawes knoweth the wicked harte and vnrestfull, and
the harde rockes vnruely men: and one wynde knoweth an
other wynde. I pray the shewe me, what thou wylte goo
ferche? Wylt thou go into the gulfe of Arpino for to feke
8040 thy leade? Than take hede and thynke how the fylhe hath
eaten thy harde leed, and let them not eate thy softe fleshe.
Thou wylte peraduenture go feke thy goodis with peryl
of thy lyfe, and to leaue renowme at thy deathe. Knowest
thou not, that fuche renowme is a falue for a rewme, a
8045 baume for a fwownig [!], lyght to a blynd perfon, a nyghtin-
gale to the deafe? I wyll difcouer the enbuffhement, er
thou fall therin. Thou fekest thought for thy selfe, enuye
for thy neyghbours, fpurres for thyn ennemies, wakyng
for theues, peryl for thy body, damnation for thy renome,
8050 the endyng of thy lyfe, flyght for thy frendes, proceffe for
thy children, and curfyng for thyn heires. And bycause
the feuer halteth towarde me, I leaue my penne to wryte
any more. My wyfe Fauityne saluteth the, and is foore
difpleased for thy losse. I fende the a prouifion, to the en-
8055 tent that a shyppe maye be gyuen the, bycause thou shul-
dest not lose thy wytte. If thou be in Alexandrie, returne
not by Rhodes, leest the Pyrates take the. The goddis be
thy faufgarde, and to me and other to gyue good lyfe, and
good name with fraungers.

A letter

(*f. 128) *¶ A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Antigonus
comfortinge hym in a sorowfull case.

¶ The tenth letter.



Arke pretour Romaine Edyle Cenforine, cō-
panyon of the empire, to the Antigonus ban-
nyshed sendeth gretynge to thy part, 7 good
hope of the senate. I beinge in Champayne,
thy heuy case was shewed me, 7 at this houre
in the temple of Jupiter was thy pitieful letter delyuerid
to me. I fele as moche as thou felest, and am hurte with
as many woundes, as thou arte separate fro neyghbours
of thyne: in lykewyse I am banyshed fro my wyttes, and
wepe at this houre for the, as thou in my trauayles hafte
wepte for me: and I fele for the, as thou in my trauayles
hafte wepte for me: and I fele for the as thou hafte felte
for me. For to frendes afflycted with sorowe, we ought to
gyue remedy to their persons, and consolation and com-
passion to their hertes. I swere to the by the lawe of good
menne, in this case I haue not ben vncourteys of ancient
tyme, nor cruell at this tyme to fele it. As I redde the ly-
nes of thy letter, I coude not hold my hādis fro shaking,
nor my hert fro sighing, nor myn eien fro weping, to se the
fmal thing that thou sendest to demāde, 7 moche more for
lacke of power to send to the. The gretteft infortune of al
infortunes, is whan a man may do lytle, 7 wold do much.
And the greatteft fortune of all fortunes is, whan a man
may do moch, 7 wyl do but lytle. In this I wyl se if thou
haft forgotten our amitie, 7 aduenturest at one tyme, ý I
haue trusted in the diuers times. Thou knowest wel, that
the yōge days in my youth al thinges were dischargid fro
my hert, 7 charged them to thin vnderstōding. Thā it is a
iuste thyng that thy traueyles shuld be discharged fro thy
wyll

(*f. 128^b) *wyl and charged vpon my harte. And in this maner thou
8090 and other shal see and here, that my handes shalbe as re-
dy to remedy the, as my teeres of wepynge are for thy da-
mage. Nowe come to the rest of euyl fortune. Thou gy-
uest me knowlege, that the goddes haue taken a dought-
ter fro the: And the monstrous erthequake hath throwen
8095 downe thy house, and the senate hath gyuen a sentence a-
gaynste the, wherby thy goodes are losse, and thy person
banyshed. The goddes be to me as propyce and meke, as
they haue ben cruelle to the. I am soore abashed of that
my spirite hath conceyued in this, as of the losse that thou
9000 7 thy wyfe haue felt, yet am I not abashed of the monstre
that feareth the people, nor of the strymblynge that hath
shaken downe thy houses, nor of the fyer that hath brente
thy goodes, nor of the goddes that haue permytted suche
thynges to falle: But I am a bashed [sic], that there is so mo-
9005 che malyce in the and in thy neyghbours: For the whiche
iustely ye do deferue to haue so horryble and cruelle cha-
stysementes: Beleue me in one thyng Antygonus, and
doubte it not, if men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not
the rule of conditours, the goddes wolde then be always
9010 as goddes, not to cause vs to be borne of our mothers to
gyue vs so cruel chastisemētes by the hand of monstrous
beastes. Certaynely it is iuste and moſte iuste, that brute
beastes be chaſtyſed by other brute beastes, and the mon-
ſterous by other monſterouſe beastes: and ſuche as offend
9015 with greate fautes, to be punyſhed with greate paynes.
I ſay to the one thyng, the whiche ſemeth a newe thyng
to the, and that is, the euyl perſonne offendethe more by
infamy, than the goddes gyue theym payne for it, rather
than for the offence that is comytted agaynſt them, as the
9020 goddes naturally be pytiefull, and alway haue the name
therof, ſo we are alwayes euyl and our euernes 7 fhame-
full

(*f. 129) *full werkes deferue to haue fore chaftifemēt. The fymple folkes call the goddis cruell, in that they fe theyr chaftifement openly, and for they fe not our fecretelyneffe. Than the goddis haue reafon to complayn, bicaufe we with our fynnes offend them, 7 they by our cruelnes are infamed. An ineffable rule it is, that the pitieful goddis do not punyſhe extremely with extreme chaſtyſementis, lythe that firſte the vicious men do extremely with extreme vyces. The tyme that Camillus was banyſhed Capue, and that the frenche men poſſeded Rome, Lucius Clarus conſule was ſent by the ſenate to the oracle of Apollo, to demande counsell what the Romaine people ſhuld do to be delyuered out of their greate peryll. And there this conſule was .xl. dayes within the temple on his knees before Appollo, offeringe right ſtraunge ſacrifices, and ſhedde many teares with wepynge, and yet he coude haue none anſwere: and ſo with no ſmal inconueniences he returnid to Rome. Than the holy ſenate ſent out of euery temple two preſtis and whan they were proſtrate on the erthe, Apollo ſayde: As one begynninge is correfpondent to an other begynnynge, and one place to an other, Meruaylle thou not, though by the reaſon of an extreme demaunde, I ſhewed my ſelfe extreme to anſwere. Ye Romaynes ſithe ye fayle men, ye come to ſeke to the goddis, for the occaſion whereof we wyl gyue you no good couſayle whan ye haue nede, nor permytte that men ſhulde fauour you whan ye go to ſeke for them. Regarde my frendes, not for the ſacrifices that ye haue offred to me, but for the amytye that I haue had with your fathers in tyme paſt, I wyl diſcouer to you a ſecretelyne, the whiche is, that ye ſhall ſay to the Romaines fro me .vii. thynges. The fyrſte is, lette neuer man leaue the goddis for an other man, for feare that the goddes departe fro the myſerable man in his moſt greateſt neceſſitye.

(*f. 129^b)⁹⁰⁵⁵ *tie. The .ii. is, that more auaylleth to holde the parte of one of the goddis immortall, that is in heuen, than with all the mortall men in the worlde. The .iii. is, that menne fhulde beware to anoye the goddis, for the ire of the goddis doth more damage than the iniquitie of all men. The
⁹⁰⁶⁰ .iiii. is, the goddis neuer forgetteth a mā at any tyme, but if the goddis be forgotten by men a. M. tymes. The .v. is, that the goddis do suffre that one fhall be persecuted by an other that is ylle, or they haue firste persecuted one that is good. And therfore ye are ftrykē with the feates of
⁹⁰⁶⁵ the frenche men bicause ye haue persecuted and banished Camyllus your naturalle neyghbour. The .vi. is, if the men wyl haue the goddis fauorable in the tyme of warre, they muste serue them fyrste in tyme of peace. The .vii. is that the pitiefull goddis sendeth not to any realme some
⁹⁰⁷⁰ extreme chaftisement, but if it be for some extreme offences commytted in the same realme. And shewe to the Senate, that I wold make none answere to Lucius Clarus, bicause they sent so yll a man to their god Appollo as ambaffadour, the which they ought not to haue done. Ye Ro-
⁹⁰⁷⁵ mayns take this counsell of me, and if ye fynde it yl, take no more of me. In a straunge message sende alwayes the most eloquent men: 7 in your senate sette the wyfeste men: And commytte your hostes to valyant capitayns: and to your goddis sende alway the most innocent men. The iust
⁹⁰⁸⁰ goddis neuer appealeth their ires ageinft vniust mē: but if the requirers be very innocent and meke. For a fowle vessell is not made cleane but with faire water. For with foule hādes it is hard to make the vessell clene. The goddis be so iust, that they wyll not gyue iust thynges but by
⁹⁰⁸⁵ hādes of iust men. Finally I say, if ye wyl driue the frēche men your ennemies out of your landis, firste caste out the passiōs fro your hartes. Thynke for trouth, that the goddis

(*f. 130) *ids [sic] wyll neuer driue your ennemies out of Italy tyll Camyllus 7 al the gyltleffe that be banyshed, be returned ageyn to Rome. Certaynly the cruell warres that the god-⁹⁰⁹⁰ dis permytteth at this tyme present, is but a warnyng of the chaftifementes for offences passed. For that the yl men haue done to the ñnocētis in diuers days, after by ŷ hādes of other that be yl, the payment is made in one day. This answere Apollo made to the priestes flamynes that⁹⁰⁹⁵ were sent to hym out of Rome, which thing made the senate fore abashed. I remembre that in the boke of the answere of the goddis, in the annales of the capitol there I founde it: the whiche boke the first day of euery monethe was redde by a senatour, before all the other senatours of⁹¹⁰⁰ the senate. Therefore frend Antigonus, as the god Apollo sayde, if thou wylte not beleue me, that am thy frende, beleue the god Apollo. O Antigong behold how ŷ vnderstāding of vayn men are but bestly to the spiritis of the goddis, whiche are secret 7 hid: and where as they speke, all⁹¹⁰⁵ other ought to be styllle. For one counsell of the goddis is more worth in mockerie, than al the couēls of mē though they be nener [sic] so true. Of whens thinkest thou that this cometh? I shal shewe the: The goddis are so perfyte in all bountie, 7 so wise in all wysedome, and we are so yll in⁹¹¹⁰ all malyce, 7 so simple in all symplenes, that though they wold erre, they can not bicause they be goddis: and we ŷ wolde be assured, erre, bycause we be men. And herin I fe what a brute beaft man is: for al these mortal men are so entier in their owne wylles, that they wyl lose more in fo-⁹¹¹⁵ lowing their owne opinion, than wyne by the counsel of an other manne: and the worst of all is, that they take luche a bytte in doinge yll, that there is no bridel that can refreyne them. And they are so slowe to do wel, that there is no pricke nor spourre that can moue theym forward. ⁹¹²⁰

Thou

Ll. ii.

(*f. 130^b) *Thou doest complayne of the pitiefull goddis, and of the
 sacrate fenate. Also thou complaynest of ioyfull fortune.
 Thre thinges there be, that one of theym is inough with
 one stroke of a stone, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy
 9125 renoume. And whan eche of them hath drawn the a part,
 than all togyther wyll stryke on the with stones. Thou
 hafte taken greatte compeditours, and yet I knowe not
 what thy worthynes is. I shal shewe the some strengthes
 and valyant[n]es that the auncient barons had, and therby thou
 9130 shalte see, what they of this worlde doth holde.

¶ The felawe of Scipio Nafica toke a serpente in the
 mountayns of Egypt, whiche after it was slayne, flayed,
 and the skynne mesured in the felde of Mars, it was .vi.
 score fote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force
 9135 with the serpente Hydra, And in strykyng of one of his
 heedes, there sprange out .vii. other heades.

¶ Mylon the gyaunt to execute his strengthe was accu-
 stomed euery day to ouertake a bull with rennyng a fote,
 and caste hym downe, and made many courses with the
 9140 bulle, as it were an other naked yonge man: and yet, that
 was more meruayle, he with one stroke of his fyfte slewe
 the bulle, and the same day wolde eate hym all togyther.

¶ On mount Olympe Cerraftus the giaunt of the naciō
 of Grece, wrasteled with mo than .l. M. men, and none
 9145 coude styre nor shake him. And if Homere begileth vs not
 of this gyaunt, he was of such fame and dedes, that e-
 uery foure yeres, there was a custome, that all nations of
 the worlde went to wrafle at mount Olympe. And therof
 came the rekenyng of the Olympiades.

9150 ¶ In the second warre punyke amōg the captiues of sorow[-]
 ful Carthage, Scipio brought a mā, a lorde of Mauri-
 tain ryght strong and fierse to behold: and in celebratyng
 a spectacle in the palayes of Rome, whiche was than of
 great

(*f. 131) *great renoume, there were innumerable beastes ronne at: This captiue prifoner lept into the parke, and kyllled two ⁹¹⁵⁵ beares, and wraftled with a lyon a great whyle: fynally beinge fore hurte with the lyons pawes, he ftrangled the lyon with his handes. This was a monftruons[sic] thyng to fe, and nowe it femeth incredyble to be beleued.

¶ In the yere .CCCC. xx. of the fouñdation of Rome, Cu- ⁹¹⁶⁰ rio Ledente a renoumed capitayne, commynge fro Tarēt againft Pyrro kynge of the Epirotes: he was the fyrft y brought .iiii. Oliphātes to Rome the day of his triumph. Stages and places were made for .xxx. M. men to fe the rennyng of thefe Olyphauntes: and in the myddes of ⁹¹⁶⁵ the pafstyme, the plankes brake, 7 flewe mo than .v. M. perfones. And amonge them there was a Numātian, the whiche bare vpon his fhulders a planke with mo thanne iii. C. men tyll that he and they were fuccoured.

¶ Gayus Cefar beinge yonge, fleinge the companye of ⁹¹⁷⁰ Sylla, bycaufe he was perteyninge to Marius, he being among the Rodiens wan his meate with courfyng 7 run[-]nyng of horfes, with his handes bound behynde hym. It was a monftruous thyng to fe, as the annales wytnes, howe he wolde guyde the horfes with his knees fo fafte, ⁹¹⁷⁵ as though he had drawen them with the reynes of their bridelles.

¶ In the .xv. yere that the capitayne of Cartageniēs entered into Italy, our auncient fathers fente to the realme of Frigie for the dyeffe Berecynthia mother of the god- ⁹¹⁸⁰ dis: and whan ſhe arryued at the porte Hoſtie, the ſhyppe that ſhe came in, ranne vpon the lande, and by the ſpace of .iiii. dayes .xxx. M. men, that came in the army coulede not remoue it: by chance came thither one of the virgins veſtales named Rea, whiche with her gyrdylle tyed to the ⁹¹⁸⁵ ſhyppe, drewe it to the lande as eaſily as ſhe wolde haue drawen

(*f. 131^b) *drawen a threde from the dystaffe. And to the intent that we shulde beleue suche thinges, as we here were done in times past, we may know it by dedes done presētly in our
9190 days. I remembre whan my lord Adrian came fro Dacie he dydde celebrate a spectacle in Rome, wherin there was mo than .ii. M. wylde bestis. And the thinge most notable & we haue sene, there was a knyght borne by the riuer Danubio, who toke a hors, 7 ranne into the parke, and flewe
9195 so many wylde bestes, that there fledde fro him lyons, leopardes, beares, olyphantes, and we dyd fle fro them: and he flewe mo of them than they dyd of men. These straḡe thinges I haue recyted to the, that of all these I am not so abashed as I am of the, to se the redye to doo armes a-
9200 geinſt the goddis, and againſt the ſenate, and ageinſt fortune. These thre are gyauntes in vertuous valyauntise, and happy at al tymes: and they be suche as commaunde them that commande other. The goddis by their naturalyte and power clofe vp the furies, and gouerne the ſter-
9205 res: And the ſenate with their Iuſtyce ouercometh realmes, and ſubdueth tyrantes: and fortune with her tirāny taketh them that they leaue, and leaueth them that they take: and honoureth them that they diſhonour, and chaſtyſeth them that ſerue her: ſhe begyleth euery perſon, and
9210 no perſon begyleth her: ſhe promyſeth moche, and fulfylleth nothing: her ſonge is wepynge, and her wepynges is ſonge, to them that be deed amonge wormes, and to them that lyue in fortunes, at them that be preſent ſhe ſpurneth with her fete, and threateth them that be abſent. All wyſe
9215 men ſhrinke fro her, but thou lyke a foole ſheweſt her thy face. Of one thyng I am abashed of the, to complayne of the ſenate, 7 yet I meruayle not: for in conſluſion they be but mē: yet of trouth in thinges of Juſtice they ought to be more than men. And to complayn on fortune, I meruayle

(*f. 132) *uayle not a lyttel: for in the end fortune is fortune amōge 9220
 mortalle men. And all the heuens is of an auncient qua-
 relle, and whan we are besette with mooste greattest qua-
 relles, than she striketh vs with most greuous hurtes. I
 haue great wonder, that thou being a Romayn cōplaineſt
 on the goddis, as if thou were one of the Barbariens. We 9225
 Romayns are not so moche renoumed among al nations
 for the multitude of realmes that we haue ouercome, as
 we are for the greate churches and seruices that we haue
 made. Thou complaynest, howe the goddis haue broken
 thy houſes with an erthequake, 7 haue ſlayne thy dough- 9230
 ter felawe in thy banyſſhement, and all in one daye. But
 thou doſt not remembre the offences that thou haſt cōmit-
 ted in dyuers caſes. O my frend Antigong, thou knoweſt
 not that out of our yl proceſſes comith forth good ſentēces
 and thou knoweſt not ȳ our wicked workes are but a wa- 9235
 king of true Juſtice: nor thou knoweſt not, ȳ the fierſe cha[-]
 ſtiſementis is but a preſſe that haſteth the great cōmingis
 of our yonge deſires? and knoweſt thou not that it is no-
 thinge that the goddis do chaſtiſe openly, to that they do
 diſſimule in ſecrete? Doſt thou not know, that in conclu- 9240
 ſion the goddis be goddis, 7 the mortalles are mortalles,
 and they may do vs more good in one day, thā we can do
 ſeruice in a .C. M. yere? Doeſt thou not knowe, that the
 leaſte ylle done by the handis of the pitiefull goddis, is
 more goodnes than al the welth ȳ may come by the hādis 9245
 of the cruel men? Thā wherof doſte thou cōplayn? I pray
 the be ſtyl. And ſith thou art amonge ſtrāgers, ſuffre. And
 thou wilte haue honour, diſhonour not the goddis of the
 Romayns. For the vniuſt mē do gret iniuſtyce to ſpeke yl
 of them that be iuſt, 7 ſpecially of the goddis, for they are 9250
 moſt iuſt. Certainly as Cicero ſaith, the greateſt faut in a
 man that is good, is to approue the yl rather than ȳ good:
 and the


(*f. 132^b) *and the moſte greatteſt euyll in an yl man is to condemne
 the good for the yl. Thou knoweſt not how iuſte the god-
 9255 diſ be. Of trouthe they chaunge not for any prayer, nor
 leaue not for any thretenynges, nor mocke not by wordes:
 nor be not corrupt with gyftes. Great ought thyn offence
 to be, ſith the erthe hath taken vengeance for the goddiſ:
 and thy innocente doughter hath payde the faute, for the
 9260 offence of her father. O Antygonus, doſt thou not know
 that in all thynges the goddiſ may werke after their own
 opinion and wyll, excepte in Iuſtyce: for in that they be
 goddeſ of all they oughte to be egall to all? And if theyr
 bountie doth bynde them to rewarde vs for goodnes, no
 9265 leſſe their iuſtyce conſtreyneth them to chaſtiſe vs for our
 ylles. It is a greatte cuſtome, and a ryghtouſe Juſtyce,
 He that wyllynge draweth to lynne, ageinſte his wyll is
 drawen to peyne. I ſay it bycauſe thy doughter hath leſte
 to do ſome good openly, or elles ſhe hath done ſome ſecret
 9270 ylle, ſythe in her youth her lyfe is bereued from her father
 for enſample of chaſtiſement to other. And in the ende of
 thy letter thou complayneſt, that the peyne that men doth
 to the, is more greater than the offences that thou haſte
 done to the goddiſ. And if it be thus frende Antygone,
 9275 thou oughteſt to haue no diſpleaſure, but pleaſure, no he-
 uynes but ioye. And I ſwere to the by the immortal god-
 deſ, I wolde gladly chaunge my lybertie for thy captiui-
 tie, and the ſtate of Rome for thy banyſhement of Sycile.
 And I ſhall telle the why: He is honoured amonge them
 9280 that be honoured, that fortune abateth without faute: and
 he is ſhamed amonge them that be ſhamed, that fortune
 inhanceth without merite. For the ſhame is [not] in the incon-
 uenientes that is done to vs by men, but it is of the offēce
 that we commytte ageinſt the goddiſ. And in lyke caſe the
 9285 honourable honour reſteth not in the dignities that we
 haue

(*f. 133) *haue, but in the good workes, wherby we meryte. And therby the wordes seme trewe, that the .xi. emperour of Rome bare written in a rynge on his finger, whiche sayde thus: More is he to be honoured, that deferueth honour, than he that hathe it and deferueth it not. These wordes are greatly to be noted, and spoken by a great lorde. Thā retourne to the purpose. Thou complaynest of the wronges and greues that men do to men, and leue the goddis, I haue no meruayle: for as the goddis do neuer vniuste thynges, so the menne neuer lightly do any thyng iuste. Note this that I say, and forgette it not. The senate gyueth an open peyne, and publysheth the secrete faulte, in such maner that with the peyne they hurte vs, and with the faute they shame vs. The goddis are more pitiefull: for though they giue vs peyn, yet they kepe the fault close. A my frende Antigone, though the goddis gader togyder the flouthe and wyckednes, that we commytte secretly, Beleue me and doubte not, the goddis gyue lyfe to many the whiche men bereueth. Therefore I thinke, that thou shuldest thynke and wyshe, that syth the goddis haue suffred the ylles that thou hast done secretly, that thou maist suffre open chaastyfement that men haue gyuen to the. For otherwise thinkynge to put away the peyne, thou shalt abyde charged with infamy. I haue writen to the this lōge epystle, to thentent that thou shuldest haue some thyng to passe the tyme with. Certaynly the greattest easement to ease hym that is in trauayle is to exerceyse the wauerynge harte with some good occupations. I wyll write no more to the at this tyme, but as touchynge thy banyshement, truste me I shal bringe the at one with the senate. I sende Panutius my secretarie to the, gyue as moche credence to his wordes, as to my letters. And he bringeth a gowne to the, and therwith my harte and wylle for to comforte the.

Salu-

(*f. 133^b) *Salutation, peace, and good age be with the: and the ire
 9320 of the goddis and yll fortune be separate fro me. Marke,
 my household, wyfe, and chyl dren salute the as thyn own.
 And we salute all thy family as our owne. Though the
 halfe of my letter be not of my hande, comforte the, for
 my harte is entierly thyne. Thou knowest howe I was
 9325 greuoufly hurt in the warres of Dacye in my hande, and
 in moyste wethers one of my fyngers slepeth. Thus I
 make an ende as always thyn owne.

¶ An other letter sent by Marc the emperour to the
 same Antygonus ageinst cruell iuges.
 The leuenth letter.

9330  Arc beinge sicke to the Antygonus beinge ban-
 nyshed, I desire salute for hym, and reste for
 the. To eschewe the enuious trauaylles of
 Rome, and to se certayne bokes of Hebrewe
 that were brought to me fro Helya, I came
 hyther to Sanya: I made great haste in my iournayes,
 howe be it at Salon the feuer toke me: and the .xx. day of
 9335 June I receyued the seconde letter, and the same houre
 the feuer quartayne toke me. I thynke none of vs bothe
 had the better hande. For neyther my longe letter dydde
 put away thy trauayle, nor thy shorth letter dyd put awaye
 my feuer. And though as now the felyng of thy trauaile
 9340 minisheth that I had, the more brenneth the desire to re-
 medy the. Therefore I wyll say some thinge to the, but not
 that I fynde any consolation that thou haste nede therof.
 In the lawe of Rhodes I haue founde these wordes: we
 commaunde, that none be so hardy to gyue counsell with
 9345 out remedy: for the wordes to him y is in trouble gyueth
 smal consolation, whā there is no remedy. Also the herte
 that is in sorow, hath more rest shewing his own greues,
 than

(*f. 134) *then herynge the consolation of other. Tou [sic] sayest in thy letter, that the cēfures are right rigorous in that realme: and therfore all that nacion hath yl wyl with the senate. I beleue well they haue good occasion therof: for dishonoured mē make the ministres of Iustyce to be rigorous, and namely they of that yle. For there is an ancient prouerbe that sayth, lyghtly all these ylls [sic], are yl, and the Syciliēs worste of all. Now adays the yl ar myghty in their ylnes, and the good with theyr vertues are kepte so clofe, that if there be not some bridel by Iustyce, the yl shuld possede al the worlde, and the good shuld fynyshe shortly. But finally to confider how vnable we be born, 7 ar enuirōned with so many ylls, beinge subiect to so many miferies, I meruaile not of the inhumanities that the humain people cōmitteth: but I am afhamed of the cruell Iustice that our Cenfures do, not as Romainys, but as cruel tyrantis. Of one thyng I am fore abashed, and greatly it troubleth my wittes, seyng naturally 7 of right the Iustice of the goddis is good, and we offēdyng them, 7 we that haue iustice but lend [sic] to vs, yet we glorify vs to be cruell: so ȳ the goddis do pardon iniuries done to thē, wherby fame of mekenes abideth to them: 7 we chaastyse the iniuries of other, wherby we wyn the fame of tirantis. In good soth there is no mā amonge men, nor humsyn [sic] amōg the humayns, but he is as a brute beast, 7 wylde amonge wylde beaftis, that nameth him self to be of the fleshe, and hath no pitie to hurte other fleshe. Nor confidereth not, that the goddis hath made hym a meke beast 7 lowly by nature, 7 he becometh a fiers serpent by malyce. In the .xii. yere of the fōundation of Rome, Romulus the first kyng sent a cōmandement into al places 7 realmes nygh to him: as to the Uolgues, Samites, 7 Ruffiens[?], to Capue, Tarentis, 7 Albanoyes: to thentent that all such as were banyshed troubled
and

(*f. 134^b) *and perſecuted in their realmes, ſhulde come to Rome, 7 there they ſhulde be receyued and well entreated: and excepte the hyſtories lye, Rome was more inhabyted in ten yerres, than Babylon or Cartage in a .C. yerres. O glorious herte of Romulus that ſuche a thyng inuented: and glorious tongue, that ſuche a thyng commaunded: and glorious was the cite or countrey, that fouled them vpon ſuche mercye and pitie. I haue founde dyuers letters of dyuers realmes of the oriēt, ſent forth mencionyng thus:
 9385 We the kynge of Parthes in Afie, to the conſcript faders of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all theym of that empyre, hauynge the name of Romaines, and ſurname of clemency, Salutation to your perſones. We ſende peace and tranquillitie to you, as we demande
 9390 the ſame of the goddis.

¶ Thus than regarde, what glorious tytyle of Clemency our predeceſſours Romaines hadde: and what example of clemency they haue left for al emperours to com. Take this for certayne, that the Cenſures or minyſters of Iuſtyce, forgettynge the pitie of the Romainys, ſhall be repu-
 9400 ted cruelle, as Barbariens, Nor Rome ſhall nat repute them as her naturall chyldren, but as cruell ennemyes: and not for augmentours of the common welthe, but infamous and robbers of clemency.

¶ Whan I was of the age of .xxxvii. yere, beinge in the yle of Crete, nowe called Cypres, in wynter tyme, There was a mountayne called Archadio, whervpon foure pyl-
 9405 lers were ſette, and a ſepulchre of a kyng of worthy fame and in his lyfe pitiefull and ful of mercy: and as one ſhe-
 9410 wed me, there were certayne wordes written in greke letters rounde aboute the ſepulchre ſaying thus: I haue taken to me alwayes this counſayle, where as I myghte do but lytel good, I neuer dyd harme: 7 that that I myghte
 haue

(*f. 135) *haue with peace, I neuer stroue for: Suche as I myght ouercome with prayer, I neuer feared with thretnynges: ⁹⁴¹⁵ where as I myght remedy secretly, I dyd neuer chaſtife it openly: them that I myght correcte with warnynges, I neuer hurted with beatynges: Suche as I chaſtyſed openly, I fyrſt aduerteyſed ſecretely: and fynally I neuer chaſtyſed one, but I forgaue foure: I am right ſorowfull ⁹⁴²⁰ bycauſe that I haue chaſtyſed, and am glad bycauſe that I pardoned, In as moche as I was borne as a man, and my fleſhe is here eaten with wormes, and bycauſe I haue lyued vertuouſly in my lyfe, my ſpirite ſhal now reſt with the goddis. ⁹⁴²⁵

¶ Howe thynkeſt thou my frende Antygonus, what an Epitaphye was this? And howe glorious was his lyfe, ſythe the memorie of hym vnto this daye abydeſh ſo immortal? And as the goddis may helpe me in al goodnes, and defende me fro yl, I haue not ſo great delyte at Pom[-] ⁹⁴³⁰ pey with his armye, nor at Gaius Iulius Ceſar with his Gaules of France, nor at Scipio with his Affrycans, as I haue at the king of Cypres with his ſepulchre. For that kynge hath more glorie in that mountayne beinge deed, than all the other had in all their lyues with all their try- ⁹⁴³⁵ umphes, that euer they had in Rome. I ſay not, but that the wyckednes of yll people ſhulde be chaſtyſed: for with out comparyſon, he is wors that fauoureth the yll, than he that commytteth the yl: for the one procedeth of wekenes, and the other of malice: But it ſemeth to me and to al ⁹⁴⁴⁰ other that be wyſe, that as the ſyn is natural and the chaſtyſement voluntary, ſo oughte the rygour of Juſtyce to be temperate: So that the myniſters ſhulde ſhewe compaſſion rather than vengeance: wherby the treſpaſſours ſhulde haue occaſion to amende theyr ſynne paſſed, and ⁹⁴⁴⁵ not to reuenge the iniurie preſente. O whatte places and realmes

(*f. 135¹) *realmes haue ben losfe, not for the ylnes that the yl people hath cōmitted, but rather by the difordinate Iustice that the ministers of iustice haue exercised? Thinking by their
 9450 rigour to corecte the damages passed, wherby hath rylen sclaunders and strife, neuer none such hard of afore. Whā a prince sendeth any person with the charge of Iustice, he ought to say to hym these wordes, suche as August Cesar sayd to the gouernours of Affrike: I put not the confidēce
 9455 of myn honour into thy handes, nor cōmitte to the my iustyce to be a distroyer of innocentis, nor an executour of synners: but that with one hande thou shuldest helpe the good to maynteine them therin: 7 with the other hande to helpe them that be yll to reyse them fro their noughtynes.
 9460 And myn intention is to sende the forth to be a preceptour of orphans, and an aduocate for wydowes, a surgien for all woundes, a staffe for the blynde, a father to euery persone, to speke fayre to myn ennemies, 7 to reioyce my frēdes. In this maner I wolde thou shuldest vse thy selfe in
 9465 euery place, so that by the fame of pitiefulnesse, such as be myn shalbe in rest 7 content to be my subiectis, 7 that strāgers shalbe desirous to come 7 serue me.

¶ This instructiō August Cesar gaue to a gouernour of his, bicause it was shewed him, that he was somewhat cru[-]
 9470 el in y realme. Certainly they were short wordes, but they were right cōpendious: And wold to god they were written in the hartes of our iuges. Thou writest, how that ile is fore troubled by reson of the censures 7 iuges therof. It is a noyfull trauayle to receyue the auctoritie of Iustice
 9475 into the hande of an vniust man: and it is a thyng not to be suffred, that one with tirāny shuld tyrannysse dyuers other: not with the lyfe, but with the auctoritie to correcte good mē, therby to be called a good cēsure. The auctoritie of his office giuē to hym by his prince ought to be his ac-
 cessarie

(*f. 136) *cessarie, and his good lyfe for principall: in suche maner, ⁹⁴⁸⁰ that by the rectitude of his iustice the yl shuld fele the execution therof. Al that haue auctorite shuld tempre it with wisedome 7 purenes of liuyng. It is a great goodnes to the cōmon welth, and great confusio[n] for him that chaastifeth with payne, Whā the miserable is chaastifed, 7 he that ⁹⁴⁸⁵ doth chaastife seeth nothyng in hym wherby he hath deserued to be chaastifed. And cōtrary, it is great slackenes in a prince to cōmaunde, and great shame to the cōmon welth to consent, and great inconuenientes and reprofe to the iuge to execute: whan a poore wretche for a smal faute is ⁹⁴⁹⁰ put to more payne for the same smal faut done in one day, than is giuen to them that be great for many tyrannies, that they haue committed during their life. These be they that peruerte the common welth, and sclandre the worlde and put them selfe out of auctoritie. 9495

¶ In the .iii. yere that great Pōpeie toke Elia, the which is nowe Jerusalem, the same tyme being there Ualerius Graccus, came thyder an Hebrew[e] or a iewe, as the annales shewe, he came to the senate to cōplayn of the wronges 7 greues that were done to him in that lond, 7 so in doing ⁹⁵⁰⁰ his errāde in the name of al that quince, he said these wordes: O fathers conscript, O happy people, your fatal destenies pmitting, 7 our god leuing vs with Jerusale, lady of al Asie, 7 moder to y Ebrues, to be in seruage to Rome, 7 to the Romans: Certainly gret was y power of Pōpey, ⁹⁵⁰⁵ 7 moch more the force of his armi to take vs. But therfore I say, that gretter was the yre of our god, 7 without com[-]parison the multitude of our synnes, wherby we dyd merite to be lost. I wold ye knew one thiȝ, 7 it fore displetheth me, y ye Romaines haue not proued it by experiēce. That ⁹⁵¹⁰ is, our god is so iust, y if amōge vs there had bē .x. iust mē, 7 amōge .l. M. yll, one good, he wold haue pdoned al y yl. And

(*f. 136 b) *And than ye Romaynes shuld haue sene as the Egyptiës dyd, howe our god alone may do moch more than al your
 9515 goddes togyther. And certaynely as longe as we be synners, so longe ye shall be our lordes. And as longe as the yre of the Hebrues god doth endure, so longe shall the power of the Romayns last. And bycause in this case I folowe one way, and by your secte ye folowe an other way,
 9520 ye can not retourne to honour one god onely, nor I to honour dyuers goddis. I wyll leue this matter to the god, by whose power we haue ben nourished, 7 by whose boũte we be gouerned, and returne to the case of our embassade. Ye know what peace hath ben betwene Rome and Judee,
 9525 and betwene Judee and Rome, we with you, and ye with vs. In all thynges we haue obeyed you, and ye vs. No iust thinge we haue denyed you. And bicause there is no thinge more desyred of the people, and lesse put in operation than is peace, And there is nothyng more abhorred,
 9530 by the which abhorryng euery mā lyueth, thā is warre: I do warn you of this with trouth, prouyde therfore iustice, put them away ý folowe your wylls to do vs yll. And let vs haue no sliche malicious folke as incyteth vs to rebel. The greattest signe and strongest pyller of the peace is to
 9535 put away the perturbbers of pece. What profite is it to say peace peace, 7 in secrete to say warre warre? I say this bicause ye haue banished the eldest son of king Idumeo out of Lyon for his demerites, and ye haue sente in his stede Campanius, Marcus, Ruffus, and Ualerius Graccus
 9540 for presidentes. They be .iiii. plagues, or .iiii. pestilences, so that the leeste of them were sufficient to enpoyson the hole empire of Rome, than moche soner our myserable realme of Palestyn. What thyng can be more monstrous, thā that the iuges of Rome shulde sende men to put away yll
 9545 customes fro them that be yll, and they them selves ar the inuen-

(*f. 137) *inuentours of newe vices? What greater shame and inconuenience is in Iustice, than they that haue auctorityte to chaſtife wanton youth, to gloryfie theym ſelfe to be capytaynes of theym that be wylde? What gretter infamie can be to Rome, than they that ought to be vertuous and iuſt to gyue example to other to be yll and vicious? I lye yf they haue not ſo writhen and enlarged the diſcipline of Iuſtice, that they haue taught the youth of Iudee ſuche vices, that hathe not ben harde of by our fathers, nor red in no bokes, nor ſene in our tyme. O Romayns beleue me in one thyng, what counſelles Jude hath taken of Rome at this houre, lette Rome take of Judee. Many realmes are gotten with myghty capytayns, and moche ſhedyng of blode, and ought to be obſerued with a good iuge, not in ſhedyng of blode, but in gettinge of hertes. Certainly the iudge that wynneth moo good wylles than money, oughte to be beloued: and he that ſerueth for money, and loſeth the good wylles, for euer oughte to be abhorred as peſtylence. What thynke ye is the cauſe nowe adays, that your preſidentis be not obeyed in a iuſt cauſe? Of a trouth it is bycauſe, that fyrſte they commaunde vniuſt thinges. The commaundementes that be iuſt, maketh ſoft & meke hertes, and ſuche as be vniuſt, maketh men cruel. We be ſo myſerable in all myſeries, that to hym that commaundeth well, we obey yll: and the more yll they commaunde, the more obeyed wolde they be. Beleue me in one thinge, that of the great lyghtnes and ſmall ſadnes of the iuges is brought vp fere and great ſhame in the ſubiectes. We that be iewes think our ſelf wel aduertified (by the mouth of our god that ſayth) euery prince comyttynge charge of Iuſtice to him that he ſeeth vnable to execute the ſame, or dothe not principally for Juſtyce ſake, accompliſhe iuſtyce, but dothe it for his owne profyte, or els to pleaſe the
partie :

(*f. 137^b) *partie: thinke surely, whan the prince dothe not regarde
 9580 this, by some way that he thynketh leaste of, he shal fe his
 honour infamed, his credēce lost, his good minished, and
 some great chaastyfement come to his house. And bycause
 I haue other thynges to say in secrete, I wyl conclude as
 nowe openly. Finally I say, if ye wyl conferue your re-
 9585 alme longe tyme, for the whiche ye haue put your selfe in
 great perylles, kepe and maynteine Justice, and we shal
 bere you reuerence: Commaunde as Romayns, and we
 shal obey as Hebrues: Gyue vs a president, that is mercy[-]
 full, and all our realme shal be obedient: Be not to cruell
 9590 to chaastyfe our mekenes, and we shall be the more obediēt
 to your preeminēce: I require you desire vs or ye cōmand.
 For in desiring 7 not commaundyng ye shall fynde loue as
 fathers to the chyldern. And no treason as of lordes to ser[-]
 uantes. All these thinges sayd the iewe, wherof the senate
 9595 had great meruayle. And forthwith the senatours prouy-
 ded for .iii. iuste thinges. The one was, that all these wor-
 des shulde be put in writinge, to thentent that they shulde
 be put in the boke ordeyned to write in all good sayenges
 of all straunge ambassadours. The second to put downe
 9600 Graccus Ualerius, bycause he was so cruel, and in hatred
 with the people. The third they provided Pylate of Lion
 to be presidente of that realme. Than howe semeth it to
 the my frende Antigonus, dyd not this Hebrewe speake
 hyghly? O Rome without Rome, that of Rome holdeth
 9605 nothyng but the walles, and arte fallen into vnthrifftie
 vices. what dyddest thou whan such a shame was laide to
 the by an Hebrewe in the myddes of the senate? Certainly
 the greattest plage amonge all plages, and the greattest
 losse amonge all losses, is whan the prince hath his lyfe so
 9610 without lyfe, his iustice so without iustice, his dedes soo
 without dedes, 7 in all euyl so bolde 7 hardy, 7 in al good-
 nes

(*f. 138) *nes fuch a coward, that rightwyfely his owne men do accufe him, and ftraungers repreue hym, none dothe loue hym, but al hate him, and his frendes wyl not helpe hym, 7 his ennemies wyll perfecute hym: They that be present ⁹⁶¹⁵ refuse his goodnes, and they that be abfente procure his yll: They that lyue take away his lyfe, and the deade his fepulchre. Nowe to retourne to the purpofe of our iuges, I pray the Antygonus, fhewe me thy mynde, wherof cometh nowe a dayes the great fclaunder of the people, the ⁹⁶²⁰ infamy of the prince, and the peryll in Juftyce? If thou knoweft it not, harken and I fhall fhewe the, wherby all goth out of order. They that be priue are fo importunate, and the princis not refufinge them: they begylyng and he fuffringe to be be [sic] begiled: The one with couetyfe, and the ⁹⁶²⁵ other with ignorance, doth gyue to fuche that he fhoulde take fro, and take away fro fuche as he fhulde giue vnto: and honoureth them that difhonoureth hym, kepeth the ryght wyfe in prifon, and delyuereth the vicious, difpifeth experte perfones, and trufteth them that be leude: and fi- ⁹⁶³⁰ nally they prouide not offices to men, but men to offices. They ordeyne the vniuft to miniftre Iuftice, and do iniurie to them that be iuft. Yet here and I fhall fhew the more. Thefe myferables after that they be appoynted and fette in their offices, wherof they be nothinge worthy, more for ⁹⁶³⁵ their auctoritie than for meryte of their perfons, they are feared with their extreme iuftice. They take on them the ftate of greatte men with the fweatte and labour of poore men. They fupply with malyce that they wante of difcretion. And worft of al, they mefure the Iuftice of other mē ⁹⁶⁴⁰ with their owne propre vilitye. Yet harken and I fhall fay more. After that thefe ideotes fe them felfe in the gulfe of thefe vayn befinellesses, thā they lacke the reyne of knowlege, 7 the fayles of wifedome, 7 the ankers of experience,

nor

Nn. ii.

(*f.138^b)⁹⁶⁴⁵ *nor can not remedy a small matter, but inuent other more greater, altringe and troubling the peace for their owne particular welth. They wepe for their owne harme, and no lesse for the welth of other, and finally lese them selves. And therefore they aduenture them selfe into the gulfes, 7
⁹⁶⁵⁰ inflame their lordes, that haue gyuen them suche offices, to giue to suche as hath not deserued them. Thou mayste know, that the beginnyng of them is pride and ambition, and their myddell is enuye and malyce, and their ende is dethe and distruction. And if my counsell were taken, such
⁹⁶⁵⁵ shulde haue no credence with princes or gouernours, but as sclaundred men to be separate, not all onely fro the common welthe, but fro their lyues. Surely great is the couetyse of them that be shamelesse, which without shame demaunde offices of the senate or princis: but it is a more
⁹⁶⁶⁰ boldnes of malyce for the prynces to gyue them. In this and in other thynges these are soo dampnable, that neyther the feare of the goddis doth withdrawe them, nor the prince doth not refreyne them, nor vengeance dothe not lette them, nor the common welthe doth not accuse them,
⁹⁶⁶⁵ and aboue al other reason dothe not commande them, nor the lawe subdue them.

¶ O my frende Antygonus note this worde that I write in the ende of my letter. In the yere of the foundation of Rome .vi. C. xlii. as the Romayns as than in the worlde
⁹⁶⁷⁰ had dyuers warres, as Gayus Celius ageynste theym of Trace, and Gneo Cordon his brother against Sardyne, Junius Sylla ageynst the Umbres, Minutius Ruffus ageynst the Macedonyens, Seruilio Scipio ageynste the Lusitayns, and Marius confull ageynst Jugurtha kyng
⁹⁶⁷⁵ of the Numidiens, It befell so that Boco kinge of Maurytayne faouored Jugurtha, and vpon them triumphed Marius, and they laden with chaynes were led afore his
 chariot,

(*f. 139) *chariotte, not without great cōpassion of them that sawe it. After this triumph done, incontinent the same daye by counsell of the senate, Jugurtha was beheaded in prison, ⁹⁶⁸⁰ 7 his companyon Bocus had pardone of his lyfe, and the cause was, It was a custome none to be putte to Iustice, but firste the auncient bokes shulde be serched, to se if any of his predeceffours had done before any seruice to Rome, wherby the captiue shulde meryte to haue pardon of his ⁹⁶⁸⁵ lyfe: and than it was founde, that the graūtfather of Bocus came to Rome, and made gret orations before the senate, by whose wordes and sentences, his said newew merited to haue pardon of his lyfe: and amonge other of his sayngis, he reherfed these verses that sayd: What is that ⁹⁶⁹⁰ realme, where is no good amonge the yll, nor yll amonge the good? what is that realme, that hath their houses ful of good simple persons, and banysheth away al wyfdom? Or what is that realme that suche as be good are cowar-des, and the yl hardy? or what is the realme, where al pea- ⁹⁶⁹⁵ sible are displeased, and the sedycious prayfed? What is that realme, that sleeth them that wolde their welthe, and are angry with them that wold helpe their yll? or what is that realme, that permytteth the proude pore folkes, and the ryche tyrantes? or what is that realme, where they al ⁹⁷⁰⁰ know the euyl, and none procureth any goodnes? or what is that realme, where suche vices are openly commytted, that other realmes feare to doo secretely? or what is that realme, where as all that they desire they procure, and all that they do procure, they attayne, and all that is yll they ⁹⁷⁰⁵ thinke, 7 all that they thynke they say, 7 all that they saye they may do, and all that they may do, they dare do, and put it in operation that they dare do: and worst of al, there is none so good to resyfst it. In suche a realme there shuld be none inhabitaunt. For within short space the yll men ⁹⁷¹⁰ shall

(*f. 139^b) *Ihall be chaunged, or elles dispeopled of good men, or the goddis wyl confounde them, or the tirantis shal take thē. Dyuers thinges were said, the which I passe ouer at this tyme. Howe thinkest thou Antigone? I sweare by the im-
 9715 mortal goddis, that my hert breketh to thinke of the great shame that was laid vpon Rome by such writing as was leste to them by the grauntfather of this kynge Bocus. This my letter I wold thou shuldest rede in secrete to the pretours: 7 if they amende not, we shall fynd the meanes
 9720 to chastise them openly. And as touchyng thy banyshment I promyse the to be thy good frende to the senate, that we may ioy our auncient amitie togyther. And to get the out of that yle, Certainly I shal do my diligēce. I haue written to my secretarie Panutig to delyuer the .ii. M. sexters
 9725 to releue thy pouertie: and thus I sende the my letter to comfort thy heuy hart. I say no more but the goddis giue the cōtentation of that thou woldest haue ioy 7 reste to the person. And all corporall euyls, cruel enemies, and fatalle destenies be separate fro me Marke. For the behalf of my
 9730 wife Fauityne, saluteth the and thy wyfe Ruffa: She is thyn, and I am thyn. With visitation of ioy I haue receiued thy letter, 7 thankefully I sende the myn. I shall not cease to desire to se thy persone in Italy, and there in Sicyle to leaue my feuer quartayn.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the yle of Helespōte, whā he dyd banysh the vacabūdis fro Rome. The xi. [sic] letter.

9735 **M**Arke emperour of Rome, lorde of Asie, cōfederate with them of Europe, frende of theym of Affrike, ennemye of the Maures: To the Lambert gouernour of the ile of Helesponte, sendeth to the of his part cōtentatiō and

(*f. 140) *and suretie fro the sacrate senate. I am furred with f fures that thou hast sent me, 7 am clothed with thy mātell, 7 ⁹⁷⁴⁰ am right well pleased with thy greyhoundes: if I hadde thought, that thin absence fro Rome shuld haue procured so moche fruite in that yle: longe ago I shuld haue determyned as well for thy profyte as for my seruyce. I sent to the in demaunding but small thinges in my sporte, and ⁹⁷⁴⁵ thou hast sent me many thynges in earnest. In good soth thou hast better proporcioned thy seruice with noblenes, than I to demaunde with my couetise. For if thou remēbre, I sent to the for a doseyne skynnes of furre, and thou hast sent me .xii. doseyns: and I dyd send but for [.]vi[.] grey- ⁹⁷⁵⁰houndes, and thou hast sent me .xii. Truly in this case my pleasure is double. For here in Rome thy great largesse is publyshed, and my smal couetise there in Helesponto. And bicause I am sure thou hast great thankses of me, I pray to god to sende the salute and helthe. And that fortune be ⁹⁷⁵⁵ not denyed the at a good houre. I sende the .iii. barkes of mayster foles, 7 yet I haue not sent the al. For if I had banyshed all the fooles in Rome, we shuld haue peopled vs with a newe people. These master foles haue ben so wyly to teche folly, 7 the Romayn youth so apt to lerne, though ⁹⁷⁶⁰ they be but in .iii. barkes their disciples wold lade .iii. M. Carrakes. I haue great meruayle of one thyng, and my hart sclandreth the goddis: for I se wel that erthquakes casteth down howses, 7 gret waters bereth away bridges[,] frostes freseth the vines, sodein thondring and tempestes ⁹⁷⁶⁵ breketh down toures, scarfite of water causeth derth, corrupt aire maketh an ende of thē that be wise: 7 yet there is nothyng that can make an ende of these fooles. All thinges at this day faileth at Rome, except all only these idell trewandes, gestours, tomblers, players, or dromflaye[r]s, ⁹⁷⁷⁰ iuglers, 7 suche other, of whom there is inow 7 to many.

O what

(*f. 140^b) *O what a seruice shuldest thou doo to the goddis, 7 what
 profyte to Rome, that for thre barkes ful of foles to sende
 one lade with wyfe men? One thing I wyl say, that with
 9775 the bones of the wife men that yle is halowed, that aunci-
 ently were banished by the malice and enuye of theym of
 Rome: if thy smellynge wittes be not lost, as Italy stin-
 keth of them that be fymple, so that yle smelleth swete of
 wyfe men. whan I came fro the warres of the Parthes,
 9780 the .iiii. yere of myn empire, I passed into that yle by dy-
 uers sees to visite the sepulchres of ancient wife men: and
 in the citie of Dorbite, in the myddes therof, lyeth Ouide
 that was banyshed by August, and vnder the mountayne
 Arpines is the sepulchre of the renoumed Armeno orator
 9785 banyshed by Sylla: at the porte of Argonaut thou shalte
 fynde the bones of Colliod[o]rus recapituler of the antyke
 lawes, that was banyshed by Nero the cruell: and in the
 felde of Elinos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Syfiso
 Seteno, that was so well lerned in the .vii. artes lyberal,
 9790 as though he had newe founde them, he was banished by
 the Marians. I say for trouth, thou shalte fynde it thus,
 for with my knees I haue touched their sepulchres. And
 all that seafon my tender eyes were as fulle of water, as
 their bones were harde in the erthe. These were not ba-
 9795 nyshed for no vilanies that they had done: but it was the
 meryte of our forefathers, that they wolde be priuated fro
 the company of so noble barons: and we their chylderne
 fro the powder of so renoumed sages. I can not tell whi-
 che is the greater, the fantasie that I haue to thyn yle, or
 9800 the compassion of miserable Rome. I pray the as my frēd,
 and commaunde the as my seruant, to regarde the places
 that I haue shewed the. For it is a iuste thyng, and most
 iuste, that suche cities be priuileged by them that lyueth,
 whan they are peopled with suche deade wyfe men.
 And

(*f. 141) *And more ouer Centurion knoweth by wordes the heuye ⁹⁸⁰⁵
 case that these prissoners had with vs, and we with theym
 the day of the feaste of mother Berecynthia. I say, I sawe
 not that day so moch cruelte in Rome, as the infamie that
 we caused in all the empire. Rome, that neuer was ouer-
 come by them that were valyant and vertuous, that daye ⁹⁸¹⁰
 we sawe ouergone and troden vnder fete by those fooles.
 The walles of Rome[,] that were neuer touched by the Pe-
 niens, had their lowpes full of armed trewandes: Rome
 that tryumphed ouer all realmes, was tryumphed [vpon] with
 tomblers and iuglers. I am so abashed in this case, that ⁹⁸¹⁵
 I wote not what to say or write. Yet one thing comforteth
 me, that sith that Rome 7 the Romaynes vniustly do not
 reioyce but with these fooles: she and the famous wyfe
 men iustly shalbe chastised for these foles: and in this the
 goddis shall not be displeased, that syth Rome laugheth ⁹⁸²⁰
 at these trewandes and mockeries, one day she shal wepe
 with these tomblers and iuglers. I banysshe all these for
 euer fro Rome, not for the bloudde that they haue shedde,
 but for the hartes that they haue peruerted: 7 not for þy oc-
 casion of any that be deed, but bycause they were masters ⁹⁸²⁵
 of folyes. Without cōparison it is greatter offence to the
 goddis, and more damage to the cōmon welthe, these tre-
 wandes to take away the wyttes fro wyfe folkes, than the
 murtherers to take away mens lyues. If the gretteft gift
 amonge all giftes of Fortune, be to kepe a good witte, let ⁹⁸³⁰
 no man presume to be of a restefull vnderftondynge, that
 is an extreme frende to these trewandes. Beleue me one
 thinge. As one byrde loueth an other, and one beaft an o-
 ther, and one wyfe man an other: so one foole loueth an
 other foole. 9835

¶ I remēbre on a day as I reuolued the registers in the
 Capitoll, I redde a ryght meruaylous thyng of Orueto
 a famous

- (*f. 141^b) *a famous oratour, which is buryed in the yle of Helespōte on the moūt Adamantine, Whan great Scipio came fro
 9840 the warre of the Peniens, better accompanied with hun- gre storuen trewandes, than with valyant capitayns, he sayde to hym: Of trouth it is a great shame to the, and a small honour to the senate, that thou that haste ouercome the wyfe Affres, and beinge soo wyfe thy selfe, and of the
 9845 blode of the wyfe Romainys, wylte be accompanied with these trewandes and fooles. In that vnhappy realme all the wise men coude not ouercome one that was thoughte so myghty amonge so many fooles. I say to the, that thy wyte is in more peryl here in Rome, thā thy life in Affrike.
- 9850 ¶ These were good wordes, and not of no worldlye mallice, and within a shorte whyle after, and by dyuers light persons, and for a small occasion, this poore olde oratour and ryche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was banysshed Rome, and sent into that yle. Than behold Lam-
 9855 bert, lette vs retourne to these iuglers, and trewandes. Whan they are landed in that ile, lette them go frank and free, soo that they vse not their accustomed toyes. Thou shalt constrayne them to labour, and chastise them if they be ydell. For these myferable folke, fleinge from iust tra-
 9860 uayle, take on them vniust idelnes, 7 conuert mo mē with their trewandysse, than if open scoles of vacabundes were kept. There is nothyng that our forefathers dyd, that displeth me so moche, as the suffraunce of these vnthriftie trewandes.
- 9865 ¶ In the yere .CC. xxvi. of the foundation of Rome, in an horrible pestilence in Italye, to reioyce the people, was fyrst founde out the inuention of Theatres, by the aduise of the trewandes. It is a shamefulle thyng to here, that the pestilence duryng but two yeres, and the rage of these
 9870 vnthriftes, to dure .iiii. C. yeres.

Lam-

(*f. 142) *¶ Lamberte, I beleue well that the complayntes, that these prifoners haue begon here, fhall neuer haue an ende there. How be it I care not: for the grudge of them that be ylle, iuftifieth the iuftyce and fentence of them that be good. As the mayfter of Neron fayde: as moche as the 9875 fhame of fynne ought to be fledde of them that be good, fo moche prayfe is the infamye of the yll. I fhall telle the one thyng, to the intent that the chaftyfement fhulde not feme cruell to the: That fithe themperours of Rome are full of clemency to ftraungers, it is no reafon they fhulde 9880 be to fharme to their owne. Sythe fatall deftenies hathe brought me into this worlde, I haue fene nothyng more vnprofytable to the common welthe, nor greater foly in them that be lyght of condicions, nor a worfe inuention for vacabūdes, nor a more cold reuocation of mortal folk, 9885 thā to lerne of thefe gamners 7 trifelers, 7 fuch other iuglers. What thing is more monftruous, thā to fe wife men reioyce at the light pafstyme of thefe vaine trifelers? what gretter mockerie can be in the capitol, than the folyfhe fayinge of a geftour, to be prayfed with greate laughter of 9890 wyfe mē? what greater fclaūders can be to princis houfes, than to haue their gates alwayes open to receyue in thefe fooles, and neuer open to wife folkes? what greater crueltye can there be for any perfone, to giue more in one daye to a fole, thā to his feruant in a yere, or to his kyn all his 9895 lyfe? What greter inconstancie can be, thā to want men to furnifhe the garyfons and frontiers of Illirico, and thefe trewandes to abide at Rome? what lyke fhame can be to Rome, thā y the memorie fhall be left more in Italy of thefe tōblers, trewandes, pypers, fingers of geftes, tabourers, 9900 croudes, dācers, mōmers, gefters, 7 iuglers, thā y renome of capitains with their triūphes 7 armes. And whā thefe caitifes went all about in Rome in fauetie, fowyng their lewde-

(*f. 142^b) *lewdenes, and gaderyng of money: the noble barons and
 9905 capitaynes went fro realme to realme waftyng their money, aduenturinge their lyues, and shedyng their blode.

¶ In the vttermofte parte of Spayne, whan warre began betwene the Liberiens and Godytains, and they of Lyberie lacked money: Two iuglers and tabourers, of-
 9910 fred to maynteyne the warre a hole yere. And it folowed, that with the goodes of two fooles many wyfe men were flayne and ouercome.

¶ In Ephefe a cytie of Afie, the famous temple of Dya-
 9915 na was edified with the confiscation of the goodis of fuch a trewande and foole.

¶ Whan Cadmus edified the citie of Thebes in Egipte with .l. gates, the mynstrelles gaue hym more toward it, than all his frendes.

¶ If the hiftories be trew, whan Auguft edified the walles of Rome, he hadde more of the trewandes, that were
 9920 drowned in Tybre, than of the comon treafourie.

¶ The firfte kynge of Corynthe arofe by fuche villaynes, I fawe his fepulchre at Corynthie. And as I fay of thefe
 9925 fmalles nombre, I myght fay of many other. Behold than Lambert, howe lyttell care the goddis take, and howe variable the cafe of fortune is, and howe the dedes of men falle. Some be had in memorie by their folye, and fomme for their wyfedome. One thyng is come to my mynde, of the chaunce of thefe trewandes, 7 that is: whyle they
 9930 be in prefence they make euery man to laugh at the folyes that they do and fay: and whan they be gone, euery man is forie for his money y they bare away. And of trouth it is a iuft fentēce of the goddis, y fuch as haue taken vayne pleafure togyther, whan they are departed to weepe for
 9935 their loffes. I wyll write no more vnto the: but that I do fende the this letter in Greke, to thentent that thou fhewe hit

(*f. 143) *it ouer all the yle. Sende forthwith the shyppes ageyne, for they muſte be ſente forth with prouyſions in to Illyrico. Peace be with the Lambert: helth and good fortune be with me Marc. The ſenate ſaluteth the. And thou on ⁹⁹⁴⁰ my behalfe ſhalt ſhewe to the yle the ioyfull happy cuſtomes. My wife Fauſtine ſaluteth the, and ſendeth a riche gyrdell to thy daughter. And in recompence of the furies I ſende the ryche iewelles.

¶ A letter ſent by Marc themperour to Catulus his ſpeciall frende of the nouelties of Rome.

The .xiii. letter.



Arcus the newe Cenſure to the Catulus ⁹⁹⁴⁵ the olde Cenſurine. It is .x. dayes paſt, that in the temple of god Janus, I receyued thy letter: and I take the ſame god to wytnesse, that I had rather haue ſene thy perſone. Thou wryteſte, howe ⁹⁹⁵⁰ my wrytynge is longe, but the ſhortnes of tyme maketh me to aunſwere the more briefly, ferre awaye more thanne I wolde. Thou deſireſt me to gyue the knowlege of the newes here. Therto I aunſwere, that it were better to demaunde, if there be any thyng abyden ⁹⁹⁵⁵ here in Rome or Italy that is olde. For nowe by our heuy deſtenies al that is good and olde is ended, and new thynges that be yll and deteſtable we may ſe dayly. Themperour, the Conſule, the Trybune, the Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamynes, the Pretours, the Centurions, all ⁹⁹⁶⁰ theſe thynges be newe, but the vilanies that ben olde, 7 al paſſeth to make newe offices, and to ordeyne ſtatutes and practykes, to come to the councelles, and to reyſe vp ſubſidies. In ſuche wiſe, y there hath ben nowe mo nouelties within

(*f. 143^b) 9965 *within these .iiii. yeres, than in tyme passed in .iiii. C. yeres.

We nowe assemble to gither a. iii. C. to counfel in the capitoll, and there we blason and bofte, fwere, and promife, that fome of vs may fubdue 7 put vnder other, to fauour one, and diftroye an other, other to chaftife the yll and re-
 9970 warde the good: To repaire olde 7 edifie newe: to plucke vices vp by the rootes, and to plante vertues: to amende the olde, and folowe the good: to reprove tyrauntes, and affifte the poore: and whan that we are gone from thens, they that fpake beft wordes, are often takē with the worft
 9975 dedes. O heuy Rome, that nowe adayes hath fuche Senatours, that in fayinge we fhall do, we fhall do, paffeth their lyfe: and than euery man fekyng for his owne profyte, forgetteth the common welth. Oftentymes I am in the Senate to beholde other as they regarde me: and I
 9980 am abafhed to here the eloquence of their wordes, the zeale of Iuftyce, and the iuftification of their perfons: and after that I come thens, I am afhamed to fe their fecrete ex-torcions, their damnable thoughtes, and their yll werkes fo playnly manifelt. And yet there is an other thyng of
 9985 more meruayle, and not to be fuffred, that fuche perfones as are moſte defamed, and vſeth moſte diſhoneſte vices, that they with their moſt damnable intēcions, make their auowes to do moſte cruell Iuſtice. It is an ineffable rule, and of humayn malyce moſte vſed, that he that is moſte
 9990 hardy to commytte greatteſt crimes, is moſt cruel to giue ſentence ageynſt an other for the ſame offence. Me thinke that we regarde our owne crimes, as through ſmall nettes, that cauſeth thynges to ſeme the leſſer. And we remēbre the fautes of other in the water, that cauſeth thinges
 9995 to ſeme greater than they be. O howe many haue I ſene condempned to be hanged by the ſenate, for one ſmal faut done in all the lyfe, and yet they commytte the ſame faute
 euery

(*f. 144) *euery houre.

¶ I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renoumed pirate or rouer on the see, whiche 10000 robbed and drowned all shyppes that he coude gette: and by commaundement of this good kynge Alexander there was an army sent forthe to take hym. And whan he was taken and presented to Alexander he sayde to hym: Shew me Dionides, why doste thou kepe the see in danger, that 10005 no shyppe can sayle out of the east into the weste for the? The Pyrate aunswered and sayde: If I kepe the see in daungier, why doste thou Alexander kepe all the see and lande as lofte? O Alexander, bycause I fyghte with one shyppe in the see, I am called a thefe, and bycause thou 10010 robbest with .ii. C. shyppes on the see, and troublest al the worlde with two .C. thousande men, thou arte called an emperour. I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the goddis as extreme agaynst ther [sic] they wolde gyue me thyne empire, and gyue the my lyttel 10015 shyppe: and than peradventure I shuld be a better kyng than thou arte, and thou a wors thefe than I am.

¶ These were high wordes, and well receyued of Alexāder: and of trouth to se if his wordes were correspondent to his promyses, he made hym from a Pyrate a great ca- 10020 pitayne of an army: and he was more vertuous on lāde, than he was cruell on the see. I promyse the Catulus[,] Alexander dydde ryght well therin, and Dionides was to be prayfed greatly for that he had sayde. Nowe adayes in Italye they that robbe openly are called lordes: and they 10025 that robbe priuely are called theues.

¶ In the yere boke of Liuius I haue redde, that in the seconde troublous warre punyke betwene the Romaines and Carthageniens, there came an ambassadour Lufytayne sente fro Spayne, to treatre for accorde of peace. 10030

Whan

(*f. 144^b) *Whan he camme to Rome he proued before the Senate, that fyth he entred into Italye, he had ben .x. tymes robbed of his goodes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had sene one of them that had robbed hym, hange vp an other
 10035 that had defended hym. He feinge so yll a dede, and howe the thefe was faued without Iuftyce, as a desperate man toke a cole and wrote on the gybet as foloweth. O gybette thou art made amonge theues, nourished among theues, cutte of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set
 10040 amonge theues, and thou arte peopled with innocentes. And there as I redde these wordes was in the original of Lyuius, and in his histories. I fwere to the by the immortall goddis, that al the Decade was written with blacke ynke, and these wordes with redde vermyl[y]on. I can not
 10045 tell what wordes I shulde sende the, but that euery thing is so newe and so tender, and is ioyned with so yl fyment, that I feare me all wyll fall sodeynly to the playne erthe. I tell the that some are sodaynly ryfen within Rome vnto valour, to whom I wyl rather assure their fall, than their
 10050 lyfe. For all buyldynge hastely made can not be sure. The longer a tree is kept in his kynde, it wyll be the longer er it be olde. The trees whose fruite we eate in sommer, doo warme vs in wynter. O howe many haue we sene, wherof we haue meruayled of their ryfinge, and [ben] abasshed of
 10055 their falles. They haue growen as a hole pece, and sodenly waisted as a scomme. Theyr felicite hath ben but a short poynt, and their infortune as a longe lyfe. Finallye they haue aredyed the mill, 7 armed it with stones of encrease, and after a lyttell gryndyng left it, inuyle al the hole yere
 10060 after. Thou knowest wel my frend Catulus[,] that we haue sene Cincius Fuluius in one yere made Consule, and his chyl dren tribunes, and his wyfe a matron for yonge maydens, and besyde that made keper of the capitol, and after
 that

(*f. 145) *that not in one yere, but the same day we saw Cincius be-
 heeded in the place, his chylderne drowned in Tybre, his ¹⁰⁰⁶⁵
 wyfe banyshed fro Rome, his howse raced downe to the
 grounde, and all his good confisked to the common trea-
 fourie. This rigorous example we haue not redde in any
 booke to take a copie of it, but we haue sene it with our eies
 to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people are va[-] ¹⁰⁰⁷⁰
 riable, so are the condicions of men diuers, and appetites
 of mortal folke: and me thynketh this is true, seinge that
 some loue, some hate, and that that some seke, some esche-
 weth: And that that some setteth lyttelle by, other make
 of. In such wise, y^e al can not be cōtent with one thing, nor ¹⁰⁰⁷⁵
 some with all thinges can not be satisfied. Let euery mā
 chuse as they lyst, and embrace the worlde whan he wyll,
 I had rather mount a softe pace to the fallyng: and if I
 can not come therto, I wyll abyde by the way, rather thā
 with sweatte to mount hastily, and than to tumble down ¹⁰⁰⁸⁰
 heedlyng. In this case syth mēs hartes vnderstond it, we
 nede not to write further with pennes. And of this matter
 regarde not the lyttell that I do saye, but the great deale
 that I wyll say. And syth I haue begon, and art in strāge
 landes, I wyl write the all the newes fro hens. This yere ¹⁰⁰⁸⁵
 the .xxv. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of
 Asie, sayenge he was of the yle of Cetyn, a baron righte
 elegant of body, ruddy as [sic] aspect, and ryght hardy of cou-
 rage. He considered beinge at Rome[,] though the sommers
 dayes were longe, yet wynter wold drawe on, and thanne ¹⁰⁰⁹⁰
 wolde it be daungerous saylynge in to his yle: and sawe
 that his besynes was not dispatched: On a day beinge at
 the gate of the Senate, seinge al the Senatours entre in
 to the Capitolle, without any armure vpon them, he as a
 man of good spirite, and zelatour of his countreye, in the ¹⁰⁰⁹⁵
 presence of vs all sayde these wordes:

O fa-

(*f. 145^b) *¶ O fathers conscripte, O happy people, I am come fro
 a straunge countreie to Rome, onely to se Rome, and I
 haue founde Rome withoute Rome: The walles where-
 10100 with it is inclofed, hath not broughte me hyther, but the
 fame of them that gouerne it. I am not come to se the tre-
 fourie, wherin is the treasure of all realmes, but I am
 come to se the sacred senate, out of the whiche issueth the
 counsell for al men: I came not to se you, bycause ye van-
 10105 quyshe all other: but bycause I thought you more vertu-
 ous than all other. I dare well say one thyng, except the
 goddis make me blynd, and trouble myn vnderstondyng,
 ye be not Romainys of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the
 Romainys your predeceffours. We haue herde in our yle,
 10110 that diuers realmes ben wonne by the valyantise of one,
 and conferued by the wysedome of all the senate: and at
 this houre ye are more lyke to be distroyed, than to winne
 as your fathers dydde: all their exercise was in goodnes,
 and ye that are their chylderne passe all your tyme in ceri-
 10115 monies. I say this ye Romainys, bycause ye haue almost
 kylde me with laughynge at you, to se howe ye doo all as
 moche your diligence to leaue your armure withoute the
 gate of the senate, as your predeceffours dyd to take them
 to defende the empire. What profyte is it to you to leaue
 10120 your armes for the sureties of your persons, and putteth
 them on wherwith ye flee all the worlde? What profyteth
 it to the thoughtfull suiter, that the senatour entreth vn-
 armed in to the senate without swerde or dagger: and his
 harte entreth into the senate armed with malyce? O Ro-
 10125 maynes, I wyl ye knowe, that in our yle we hold you not
 as armed capitaynes, but [as] malicious senatours: not with
 sharpe grounden swerdes 7 daggers, but with harde her-
 tes 7 venymous tongues ye feare vs. If ye shulde in the
 senate put on harnes, 7 therwith take away your lyues, [it]
 were

(*f. 146) *were but a small losse, feinge that ye susteyn not the innocentes, nor dispatche not the businesse of suiters, I can not suffre it. I can not tell in what possessions ye be holdē at Rome: for in our ile we take armour fro soles, whether your armours are taken away as fro soles or madde folkes, I wote not: If it be done for ambicioufnes, it cometh not of Romaynes, but of tyrauntes, that wranglers and ireful folke shulde be iuges ouer the peasible, and the ambitious ouer the meke, and the malicious ouer the simple: if it be done bycause ye be soles, it is not in the law of the goddis, that .iii. C. fooles shuld gouerne .iii. C. M. wise men. It is a longe season that I haue taried for myn answer and licence: and by your madnes I am now farder of, than I was the first daye. We bringe oyle, hony, saffron, wood, and tymbre, salt, syluer, and golde out of our yle into Rome, and ye wyll that we go elles where to seke Iustice. Ye wyl haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to determyne our Iustices: ye wyll that we pay our tributes in one day, 7 ye wyl not discharge one of our errādes in a hole yere. I require you Romayns determine your selves to take away our lyues, and so we shall ende: or els here our complayntes, to thentēt that we may serue you. For in an other maner it may be than ye know by herynge with your eares, whiche peraduenture ye wold not se with your eien. And if ye thinke my wordis be out of measure so ŷ ye wyl remedy my coūtre, I set not by my lyfe. And thus I make an ende. Uerily frende Catulo these be the wordes, that he spake to the senate, which I gat in writinge. I say of truth, ŷ the hardines, that the Romaynes were wont to haue in other coūtres, the same as now strangers haue in Rome. There were that spake that this ambassador shuld be chaftised, but the goddis forbyd, ŷ for saying trouth in my presence, he shulde haue ben correcte.

It is

Pp. ii.

(*f. 146^b) *It is inough 7 to moche to, to suffre these euyls, thoughe we flee nor persecute those that aduertysse and warne vs
 10165 of them. The shepe ar not in suretie of the wolfe, but if the shepard haue his dogge with him. I mene, doggis ought not to leaue barkynge for to awake the shepardes. There is no god commaundeth, nor lawe counsayleth, nor common welthe suffreth, that they whiche are commytted to
 10170 chaftyse lyers, shulde hange them that say trouthe. And sith the senatours shewe them selfe men in their liuinge, and sometyme more humayne than other that be flaues, who elles shulde delyuer them fro chaftisement? O Rome and no Rome, hauyng nothyng but the name of Rome, where
 10175 is now become the noblenes of thy triumphes, the glorie of thy chyl dren, the rectitude of thy Justice, and the honour of thy temples? for as nowe they chaftise hym more that murmureth agaynste one only Senatour, than they do them that blasphemie al the goddis at ones. For it gre-
 10180 ueth me more to se a Senatour or censure to be worste of all other, than it displeaseth me, that it shuld be sayd, that he is the best of all other. For a trouthe I saye to the my frende Catulus, that as nowe we nede not to seke to the goddis in the temples, for the Senatours are made god-
 10185 dis in our handes. This is the difference betwene theym that ben immortall, and they that be mortal. For the goddis neuer do thyng that is yll, and the Senatours doo neuer good thyng: the goddis neuer lye, and they neuer say trouthe: the goddis pardon often, and they neuer for-
 10190 gyue: the goddis are content to be honoured .v. tymes in the yere, and the Senatours wolde be honoured .x. tymes a day. What wylt thou that I shuld say more? but what so euer the goddis do, they ought to be prayfed: and the senatours in all their workes deserue to be reproued. Fy-
 10195 nally I conclude, that the goddis assure and affirme eue-
 ry thing

(*f. 147) *ry thyngge, and they erre and fayle in nothyngge: and the
 fenatours affure nothyngge, but erre in all thynges: onely
 for one thyngge the fenatours are not of reason to be cha-
 styfled: and that is, whan they intend not to amend their
 fautes, they wylle not suffre the oratours to wafte theyr 10200
 tyme to shewe theym the trouthe. Be hit as maye be, I
 am of the opinion, that what mā or woman, withdraweth
 their eares fro heryng of trouthe, impossible it is for them
 to applye their hartes to loue any vertues: Be it censure
 that iugeth, or fenatour that ordeyneth, or emperour that 10205
 commaundeth, or consule that executeth, or oratour that
 preacheth. No mortall man take he neuer so good hede to
 his werkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he
 deserueth some chaftyfement for some cause or counfayle
 in his doinges. And sith I haue written to the thus of o- 10210
 ther, I wyll somewhat speake of my selfe, bycause of the
 wordes of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou desirest
 to knowe of my person. Knowe thou for certayne, that in
 the kalendes of Januarie I was made censure in the fe-
 nate, the whiche offyce I desired not, nor I haue not de- 10215
 serued it. The opinion of all wyse men is, that no manne
 without he lacke wytte, or surmounteth in foly, wyl glad-
 ly take on hym the burden 7 charges of other men. A gret[-]
 ter case it is for a shameshafte man to take on hym an office
 to please euery man, for he muste shewe a countenance 10220
 outwarde, contrarye to that he thynketh inwarde. Thou
 wylte saye, that the good are ordeyned to take the charge
 of offices. O vnhappye Rome, that hath wylled to take
 me in suche wyse, as to be the beste in it. Greuous pefty-
 lence ought to come for them that be good, sith I am sca- 10225
 ped as good amonge the yll. I haue accepted this office,
 not for that I had any nede therof, but to satisfie the de-
 fyres of my wyfe Fauftyne, and to fulfyll the commande-
 ment

(*f. 147^b) *ment of Anthonius my grauntfather. Haue no meruayle
 10230 of any thyng that I do, but of that I leaue to be done.
 For any man that is wedded to Fauстыne, there is no vi-
 lany but he shall do it. I swere to the, that fith the day we
 were wedded, me semeth that I haue no wytte. I leaue
 weddyng for this tyme, and returne to speake of offyces.
 10235 Surely a peafible man ought to be in offyces, thoughe it
 be peynfull: for as the offyces are assured amonge them
 that be vertuous, so peryllously goth the vertuous folke
 amonge offyces. And for the trouthe hereof reckon what
 they wyne, and than thou shalt se what they lose. Saye
 10240 that is good, if thou knowest it, 7 here the yll, if thou de-
 fyre to knowe it. He that wyll take the charge to gouerne
 other, he seketh thought and trouble for hym selfe, enuye
 for his neyghbours, spurres for his ennemyes, pouertie
 102045 for his rycheffe, awakyng of theues, peryll for his body,
 an ende of his dayes, and tourment for his good renome.
 Fynally he seketh a waye to reiecte his frendes, and a re-
 peale to recouer his ennemyes. O an vnhappy mā is he,
 that taketh on hym the charge of chylderne of many mo-
 10250 thers, for he shalbe always charged with thoughtes, how
 he shulde content them all: ful of fighes bycause one hath
 to gyue hym: feare that one shulde take fro hym, weping
 if he lese, and suspection that they infame hym. He that
 knoweth this, without longe tarieng ought to sette a bri-
 dell at his heed. But I say of one, as I saye of an other.
 10255 For I wyll swere, and thou wylt not deny it, that we may
 finde some nowe adays, that had rather be in the parke to
 fight ayenst the bulles, thā be in suretie vpon ʒ scaffolde.
 Oftentimes I haue hard say: Go we to the Theatres to
 renne at the bulles: go we to chafe the hertes and wylde
 10260 boores: and whā they com there, they renne away, not the
 beeftis fro them, but they fro the beaftis: In such wyse as
 they

(*f. 148) *they went rēnyng, they retorne ageine fleing. I say theſe ambitious perſones procure to gouerne, 7 are gouerned, they commaunde and are commaunded: they rule and are ruled: and fynally thynkyng to haue diuers vnder their handes. theſe wretches put them ſelfes vnder euery mans fote. For the remedy of all theſe perylles my thoughte is comforted with one thing, and that is, without procuring or offring of my ſelfe, the ſenate of their owne wyll hath cōmaunded me. In the .viii. table of our auncient lawes be theſe wordes. We commande, that in our ſacred ſenate charge of iuſtyce be neuer giuen to him that wylfully offreth hym ſelfe to it, but to ſuch as by ripe deliberation be choſen. This is certaynly a iuſte lawe. For men nowe be not ſo vertuous nor ſo louinge to the cōmon welth, ȳ they wyl forget their owne quietnes and reſt, doing damage to hym ſelfe to procure an other mans profyt. There is none ſo ſolyſhe, that wyl leue his wife, chyldrē, 7 his own ſwete cuntry, to go into ſtrange cōūtreis, but if he ſe him ſelfe amonge ſtrange people, thinkyng vnder the colour of iuſtyce to ſeke for his own vtilite. I ſay not this without we[-]pyng, that the princis with their ſmall ſtudy 7 thought, 7 the iuges with their couetyſe, haue vndermynd 7 ſhaken down the hygh walles of the polycie of Rome. O my frēd Catulus, what wylt thou that I ſhuld ſaye, but that our credēce ſo miniſheth, our couetyſe ſo largely voyded, our hardines ſo boldeth, our ſhamfaſtnes ſo ſhameles that we prouyde for iuges to go 7 robbe our neighbours as capytayns ageinſt our ennemies. I lette the to wyte, where as Rome was beloued for chaſtiſing the yl, nowe it is as moche hated for diſpoyling of innocētes. I do remēbre, that I red, in the time of Denis Syracuſan, that ruled al Sy-cile, there came an ambaffadour fro Rhodes to Rome, bringe of a good age, well lerned, and valyaunt in armes,
and

(*f. 148 b) 10295 *and right curious to regarde euery thyng. He camme to Rome to se the maiestie of the sacred senate: the height of the high capitol enuironned with the Collifet: the multitude of senatours: the wysedom of the counsaylours: the glorie of triumphes: the correction of the yl: the peace of
 10300 the inhabitauntes, the diuersitie of nations: the habundance of the mayntenaunce, the order of the offyces: and finally seinge that Rome was Rome: he was demanded howe he femed therby: He answered and sayd: O Rome in this thy present worlde, thou arte fulle of vertues and
 10305 wyfe men, hereafter it wyll be furnyshed with fooles. Lo what hygh and very hygh wordes were these? Rome was vi. C. yeres without houses of nycetie of foles, and now it hath ben .iii. C. yeres without one wyfe or vertuous. Loke what I say, it is no mockerie but of trouth. If the
 10310 pitiefull goddis nowe adayes did reyse our predeceffours fro dethe do lyfe, eyther they wold not knowe vs for their chylderne, or elles attache vs for foles. These be thinges vsed in Rome, but thou sendest no worde of that is vsed in Agrippine. I wyll write no thyng to the to put the to
 10315 payne: write to me some thyng to reioyce me. If thy wife Dynfilla chanced well of the flote that came out of Cetin with salte, oyle, and hony, I haue caused it to be wel provided for her. Wite thou, that Flodius our vncle was cast downe by rage of his hors, and is deceassed. Laertia and
 10320 Collodius are frendes to gyther, by occasion of a maryage. I do send the a gowne, I pray to the goddis to sende the ioy therof. My wife Faustyn saluteth the. Recōmende me to Iamyro thy sonne. The goddis haue the in keping: and contrary fortune be fro me. Marcus thy frende to the
 10325 Catulus his owne.

A let-

(*f. 149) *C A letter sent by Marke the emperour to the amorous ladies of Rome, by cause they made a play of hym. The .xiii. letter.



Arke oratour lernyng at Rodes the arte of humanite, to you amorous ladies of Rome salutation to your perfoncs, and amendement of your defyred lyfe. It is writen to me, that at the feaste of the mother of the ¹⁰³³⁰goddis Berecynthia, all ye togyther there present played, and gefsted on me: wherin ye layde for an example my lyfe and my renoume. It is shewed me, that Aulina composed it, Lucia Fulua wrote it, and thy selfe Toringula dyd finge it, and ye all togyther dyd present it ¹⁰³³⁵to the Theatre, ye haue portrayed and paynted me in dyuers maners, with a boke in my hande, tourned contrary, as a fayned philosopher: with a tongue alonge, as a bold speker without meafure: with a horne on my heed, a common cuckolde: with a nettel in my hande as a tremblyng ¹⁰³⁴⁰louer: with a baner fallen downe, as a cowarde capitayn: with halfe a berde as a femynate man: with a cloth afore myn eies as a condempned vacabunde: and yet not content with this, but the other day ye portrayed me in a new maner. Ye made my figure with fete of straw, my legges ¹⁰³⁴⁵of ambre my knees of wood, the thyghes of brasse, the be-lye of horne, the armes of pytche, the handes of mace: the heed of yello: the eares as an asse: the eyes of a serpent, the heares as rootes iagged, the tethe of a catte, the tōge of a scorpion, and the foreheed [sic] of lead: wherin was writen ¹⁰³⁵⁰in two lynes these letters, M, N, T, N, I, S, V, S, the whi[-]che meneth, (as I do take it) The mortall man taketh not the statue so strange, as the doublenes of the lyfe: 7 than ye went to the ryuer, and therin tyed his heed downward
a hole

(*f. 149^b) 10355 *a hole day. And if the lady Meffalyn had not ben, I think it had ben tied there tyll now. And now ye amorous ladyes haue written to me a letter by Fuluius Fabritius, wherof I receyue no peyn, but as an amorous man, from the handes of ladyes I take it as a mockerie. And to thē-
 10360 tent that I shulde haue no tyme for to thynke theron, ye sende to wyte a question of me, that is: if I haue founde in my wrytinges, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what, and howe the fyrste women were made. And bycause my complexion is to take mockes for mockynges, and lyth ye
 10365 demaunde it, I shall shewe it you, and your frendes and myn, and specially Fuluius your messanger hath desired me. There is nothinge wherof I complayne, but I wyll holde my peace, saue to your letter and demaunde, I wyll answere. And sith there hath ben none for to aske the que-
 10370 stiō, I protest that to none other, but to you amorous women of Rome, I sende myn answere. And if any other honest lady wyll take the demande for you, it is a token that she hath enuy of the office that ye be of. Certaynly if any lady sheweth her selfe annoyed with your payne openly,
 10375 fro hensforthe I condemne her, that she kepe no fault that she knoweth in secrete. They that be on the stage fere not the roringe of the bulle: and he that is in a dongeon feareth not the shotte of artillerie. I wyll saye, a woman of good lyfe feareth no man with an ylle tongue. The good
 10380 matrones may kepe me for their perpetuall seruante, and they that be yll for their chiefe ennemie. Nowe to answere the question, to know wherof the fyrst women were made: I say that accordynge to the diuersitie of nations, that be in the world, is dyuers opinions, that I fynd in this case.
 10385 The Egypciens saye, that whan the flode of Nyle ranne abrode, and watred the erthe, there abode certayne pieces of erthe cleauynge to gyther lyke greace, and thanne the
 heate

(*f. 150) *heate commynge in them created many wyld beastes: and so amonge them was founde the firste woman. Noote ye ladies, that it was necessarie, that the flode of Nyle shuld flowe ouer his brimmes, that the firste woman myght be made on the erthe. All creatures are bredde in the entrailles of their mothers, excepte the woman, that was bredde without a mother. And this semeth to be tru, bicause with[-] out mothers ye were borne, without rule ye lyue, 7 without order ye dye. Ueryly he putteth him selfe to many tra-uayles, and hath many wyles to fynd, and many times to thynke, and to aske many succours, and to abyde many yerres, and to chuse amonge many women, that wyll rule one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes neuer so cruelle and fierse, at the laste the lyon is ledde of his keper without any bonde: The bulle is clofed in the parke: the brydell ruleth the hors: a lyttell hoke catcheth the fyfhe: and the wolfe suffreth to be tyed: only a woman is a beast vnable to be tamed: 7 neuer leseth her boldnes for any thing that is commanded her, nor the bridell, for that she is not commaunded. The goddis haue made men as men, and beastes as beastis, and the humayne vnderstondynge verry high, and his strêgth of a great power: but yet is there no mã be he neuer so high, that shal scape the womã lightly, nor defende hym be he neuer so stronge. But I saye to you my ladyes: There is no spurres that can make you go, nor raynes that can holde you, nor brydell that can refreyne you, nor angle or net that can take you: and finally there is no law can subdue you, nor shame refreyn you, nor feare abashe you, nor chaastyfemente amende you. O in what yll aduenture putteth he hym selfe, that thinketh to rule and correct you. For if ye take an opinion in hand, all the worlde shall not drawe you frome it: if a man tell or warne you of any thyng, ye wyll neuer beleue hym:

If one

(*f. 150^b) *If one gyue you good counsell, ye wyl not take it: if one threaten you, anone ye complayne: if one flatter you, thā ye waxe proude: if one reioyce not in you, ye are spitefull: if one forbear you, it maketh you bolde: if ye be chasty-
 10425 fed, ye tourne to serpent: finally a woman wyll neuer forgyue any iniurie: nor gyue thanke for any good dede. Nowe adayes the moſte ſymple of all women (I ſweare) wyll ſweare, that ſhe knoweth leſſe than ſhe dothe: and of trouthe the moſte wyfeſt mans wytte ſhall fayle in theyr
 10430 reaſons: and yet the wyfeſt of theym ſwerueth frome all wyſedom. Wyll ye know my ladyes, howe lytel ye know, and howe moche ye be ignorant? That is, ye determyne fodenly in harde thinges of grauitie, as yf ye had ſtudied for it a. M. yeres: and if any gaynſaye you, ye take hym
 10435 as a mortall enmie. Hardy is that woman, that dare giue counſel to a man: but he is more hardier that taketh it of a womā. But I ſay he is a ſole that taketh it, and he more ſole that aſketh it, and he is moche more folyſhe that fulfylleth it. Myn opynion is, that he that wyl not fal amōg
 10440 ſo many ſtones, nor pricke him amonge ſo many thornes, nor blyfter hym amonge ſo many nettyls, lette hym here what I wyll ſay, and do as he ſhall ſee: ſpeake well and worke ylle, In promyſynge promyſe moche: In fulfyllynge fulfyll nothyng: and finally alowe your wordes,
 10445 and condemne your counſelles. If one ſhulde demaunde nowe adays of dyuers ryght renoumed perſons, that ben deed, howe they dydde with the counſell of women whan they lyued: I am ſure they wolde not haue ryſen than to beleue thē: nor at this houre to be reuyued ageyn to here
 10450 them. How was kyng Philyp of Macedon with Olympias? Parys with Helayne? Alexander with Roſane? Eneas with Dydo? Hercules with Deyanira? Hanyball with Thamyra? Nero with Agrippine? And if ye wyll not be-

(*f. 151) *beleue what they suffred with them, demande of me how I do amonge other. O ye women, I remembrynge that 10455
 I am borne of one of you, abhorre my lyfe: and thynking that I lyue with you, I desire deathe. For there is none other deathe as to treate with you. And no better lyfe thā to flee fro you: It is a common sayinge amonge women, that we men be vnkynde, bycause we being borne in your 10460
 entrayles, do entreate you as bondwomen and seruantis: and ye say, sith ye beare vs with peryll, and nouryshe vs with trauaile, that it were conuenient and iust that we alwayes shulde be occupied in your seruices. Oftentymes I haue studyed, why men desireth women so moche. There is 10465
 no eies, but they ought to wepe, no harte but it shulde breake, no spirite but it shuld be sorowfull to se a wyfe mā losste by a foolyshe woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the day to satisfie his syght: the derke nyght to tomble with vayne thoughtes: one day to here tidinges, an other day 10470
 he offereth seruice: one tyme louynge darkenes, an other tyme he hateth lyght: he dyeth with company, and lyueth folytarie: and finally the poore folyshe louer may that he wyl not, and wylleth that he may not. More ouer the couf-
 sell of his frendes profyteth hym not, nor the shame of his 10475
 enymies, nor losse of his goodes, nor the aduenture of honour, nor losynge of his lyfe, nor sekynge of deathe, nor comynge nere, nor goinge ferre, nor seinge with eyes, nor herynge with eares, nor tastynge with mouthe, nor yet fel-
 lynge of hande: and finally to attayne victorie, he hathe 10480
 alway warre ageynst hym selfe: I wold these louers knew fro whens loue procedeth, it is this: The entrayles that we are bredde in is of fleshe: the brestes that we sucke, are of fleshe: the armes that we are nourished in be of fleshe, the werkes that we do are of the fleshe, by the whiche oc- 10485
 casions commeth the repeale of our fleshe to their fleshe.

Many

(*f. 151^b) *Many free hartes falle into the snares of loue. It semeth well my ladies, that ye are brought vp in puddles, as the Egipitiës say: The puddels kepe no clere water to drinke,
 10490 nor fruite to eate, nor fyfhe to be taken, nor vessell to sayle with: I do say ye are foule in your lyuinge, shamefull in your perfonen, in aduerfitie feble and lethy, in prosperitie subtyll and wyly: false in wordes, doubtfull in your werkes: In hatynge ye kepe a disorder, extreme to loue, auaricious in gyftes, vnshamfast to take: And I say ye are a
 10495 receyte of feare, where as wyfe men findeth perylle, and fymple men suffre: In you wise men holde their renomes difalowed, and the fymple their lyfe in penury.

¶ Let vs leaue the opinion of the Egipitiens, and come
 10500 to the Grekes, whiche saye, that in the desertes of Arabye the sonne shyneth moſte hote: and they say, that at the begynnyng there appered a woman alone with a byrde called Phenyx, the whiche byrde (they say) was created of the water, and the woman of the great hete of the sonne, and
 10505 of the corruption of the powder that falleth fro the trees, whiche the wormes doth eate: In this wise there was a tree loore eaten with wormes, and it chaunced by heate of the sonne, and the drythe of the powder, a fyre to kendle, and ſo brent it: and than of the fire and pouder of the ſaid
 10510 brent tree, the firſte woman was made. And though I be a philoſopher Romaine, I wyll not ſay, that the opinion of the philoſopher greke was yll. For of a truth ye ladies that be amorous, haue your tongues of the nature of fire,
 7 your condicyons of the rotēnes of the powder of wood.
 10515 After the diuerſitie of beſtes, nature hath put ſom ſtrēgh in dyuers partes of their bodies, as the egle in the beke, the vnicorne in the horne, the ſerpent in the taylor, the bull in the heed, the bere in his armes, the hors in his breſt, the dogge in his teathe, the hogge in groyne, the wood doue
 in

(*f. 152) *her wynges, and women in their tongues. Of trouthe the 10520
 flyght of the wood doue is not so highe as the fantasie of
 your folyes, nor the catte scratcheth not so soore with her
 nayles, as ye scratche soles with your importunities: nor
 the dog hurteth not them, that he rēneth at, as ye do the so[-]
 rowful louer that serueth you: nor he rēneth not in so gret 10525
 perill of his lyfe for to catche the bull by the hornes, as is
 the peril of the good fame of the louer ȳ falleth into your
 handes. And finally the serpent hath not so moch poyson
 in his taile, as ye haue in your tonges: set al the Romaine
 ladies apart: for there be many ladyes of Rome, of whom 10530
 there is no complaynt of their perfonen, nor suspection of
 their good names. Of all fuche my letter speketh not, nor
 my penne writeth not, but of other 7 not of them. I speke
 of women that be fuche, that all venemous beastes haue
 not so moche poyson in their bodies, as an yl woman hath 10535
 in her tongue. And sith that the goddis haue cōmanded, 7
 our destenies doth permytte, that the lyfe of men can not
 passe without woman: therefore I aduertise these yonge
 people, and pray them that be olde, and awake wise men,
 and teche the symple, to flee away fro women of yl name, 10540
 rather than fro common pestylence.

¶ Redynge the ancient lawes of Plato, I fynde written
 thus: we cōmand ȳ al womē openly infamed, be opely put
 out of the citie: to thentēt that other seing their finnes not
 vnpunished, may abhorre the sinne for feare to fal into the 10545
 same peyne. Also the same law sayth: We cōmande, that
 pardon be giuen to a woman of all the fautes commytted
 by her owne body, if any amendement be sene in her: but
 neuer to pardon them that hathe commytted synne with
 their tungen. For commyttinge synne with an yll person 10550
 is of fragilitie, but with the tongue it is of pure malyce.

¶ O diuine Plato master 7 mesure of al vnderstondyng,
 and

(*f. 152^b) *and prince of all philosophers, whanne thou madeſt that
 lawe in the golden world, that there was neuer ſuch ſcar-
 10555 cite of yll women, and ſo great abundance of good wo-
 men in Grece. What ſhall we doo nowe in Rome, where
 there be ſo many ylle openly, and ſo fewe good in ſecrete.
 Naturally they were wonte to be ſhamefaſte in their vy-
 ſages, temperate in wordes, wyſe of wyt, ſobre in goinge,
 10560 meke in conuerſation, pitiefull in correction, well regar-
 dyng their lyuinge, not kepyng companies, ſtedfaſt in
 promeſſe, and conſtant in loue. Fynally let not the womā
 that wyll be good, truſt in the wiſedome of wiſe men, nor
 in the flatterie of lyght folkes: But lette her vertuouſly
 10565 regarde her renoume, and beware alwayes of any man
 that maketh her any promys. For after that the flames of
 Uenus be ſet on fire, and Cupide hath ſhotte his arowes,
 the ryche man offreth all that he hathe, the poore man all
 that he may, the wyſe man ſayth he wyl be her great frēde,
 10570 and the ſymple alway her ſeruant: the wyſe man wyl loſe
 his lyfe for her, and the ſole wyll take his deathe for her:
 The olde man wyl ſay he wyl be frend to her frēdes: and
 the yonge man wyl ſay, he wyl be ennemie to her enmies.
 Some wyl promys to pay her debtes, and other to reuēge
 10575 her iniuries. Finally to hyde their pouertie, and to ſhewe
 their beautie they leaue theſe fooles loſing their perſones
 and good fames. I wyll leaue to ſpeake of good women,
 for it is not myn intent to lay any thinge to their charge,
 but to aduertyle them well. I demaunde of you amorous
 10580 ladyes, if Platon was there, whan ye made a playe of my
 lyfe, and drewe my figure about in Rome? No ſurely in
 dede, by that I ſe in you, at this tyme it is ſuſpecious that
 in ſayde of other. For there is but a fewe in Rome, whom
 Plato and his lawe dothe excuſe. One thyng ye can not
 10585 deny, if I were the worſte of all men, at the laſte ye haue
 founde

(*f. 153) *founde the ende of my vilanyes. And ye can not deny me, but she that is leaſte yll of you, in all my lyfe I coude not ſhewe the malyce of her lyfe. It is greatte perylle to wyſe women to be neyghbours to fooles: Great peryll it is to them that be ſhamefaſt, to be with them that be ſhameles: 10590 great peril it is to them that be of a meke and ſtyl maner, to be with them that be bolde and rude: great peryll it is for them that be chaſte, to be with them that lyue in auoutrie: great peryll it is for the honourable, to be with them that be diſfamed. For the women defamed, thinke that al 10595 other be defamed, and deſire that they ſhulde be defamed, and procure to haue them defamed: and ſay they be yl famed. And to thentent to couer their owne infamy, they infame all other that be good. O ye ladyes in amours, it is long ſith ye knew me and I you: and yf ye ſpeke, I ſpeke: 10600 yf ye knowe I knowe, if ye be ſtyll I am ſtyll, yf ye ſpeke openly, I wyl not ſpeke in ſecret. Thou knoweſt wel Auylia, that made the ieſte, how Eumedes ſolde calues derer in the bouchery, than thou ſoldeſt the innocent virgins in thy houſe. Thou knoweſt wel Turīga, that one day thou 10605 recknedſt all thy louers, but thou coudeſt not reckon them on thy fyngers, but deſyredſt to haue a buſhell ful of peafon. And thou Lucia Fuluia knoweſte well, whan thou were (thou woteſt where) with Breto, and madeſt peace with thy huſbande, thou tokeſt hym a ſyde, and ſaydeſt, 10610 but if thou myghteſt lye out of thy houſe ones a weke, he ſhuld not lye in the houſe. And thou Retoria knoweſt wel, that in thy yonge dayes two yeres thou were appoynted on the ſee with a Pyrate, ſo that he ſhulde take no mo to ſatiſfie a. C. men of warre in the galey. Thou Egna Cor- 10615 cia knoweſt wel, that whan the cenſure entred to take the, he found .v. mens gownes, in whiche thou wentſt euer by nyght, 7 thou haddeſt but one womans gowne, that thou wareſt

(*f. 153^b) *wareft on by day. Thou knoweft well Pefylane Fabrice,
 10620 that Aluinus Metellus 7 thou beinge married, before the
 Cenfure demaunded openly his parte, of that thou gate
 in thy houle with thy fecret louers. And thou Camyll kno[-]
 weft well, not beinge content with thyn owne nation, but
 by reafon of the great hauntynge that thou haddeft with
 10625 ftraungers, thou canft fpeake all maner of languages. I
 wil marke them that hath marked me, and hurt them that
 haue hurte me, perfecute theym that haue perfecuted me,
 and infame them that haue infamed me: Al other my pen
 doth pardō, bycaufe they haue pardoned me in their play.
 10630 And bycaufe my letter hath begonne in that ye haue done
 to my perfon, therfore I wyl end it in that it feleth of your
 good names. And thus I conclude, that a man may fcape
 free fro all damages, with abfteynynge fro them: But fro
 women there is no way, but to fle fro them. Thus I ende
 10635 and demaunde of the goddis, that I may fe of you, as ye
 defire to fe of me. And fythe ye be louers, I counsell you,
 as ye haue fente me your iefte as for a mocke, in lykewife
 for a mocke to receyue the anfwere. Marce Rodyan to the
 amorous ladyes of Rome.

¶ A letter fent by Marc the emperour to Boemia a
 louer of his, that wolde haue gone with hym
 to the warres. The .xv. letter.

10640



10645

Arc pretour Romayn fent to the warres of
 Dacy, fendeth falute to his louer Boemia,
 which art in the plesures of Rome. I being
 fcaped fro a cruel bataile, haue red the fewe
 lynes written with thy hande, 7 haue herde
 of the a long informatiō. I fay to the, thou
 haft put me in a more great abafhement, than the feare of
 myne

(*f. 154) *myn enmies. In takynge thy letter into my hande, forth-
 with the herbe of malyce entred into my herte. Whan I
 tempre my body with thy delytes, I thinke my hart is fre
 fro the venym of thyn amours. I of my wyl, and thou bi- 10650
 cause thou canste do no more, we haue giuen vs to be free
 of our pleasures, I thinke as wel as to make a deuorfe of
 our enmies. But sliche as ye be, so ye do, banyshementes
 of amours, and treasours of passions. The loue of you al
 ought to be digested with pylls: but the passion of one of 10655
 you wyl not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexan-
 drie. Ye shewe your selfe cruell to pardon an ennemy, and
 euery day light to change louers. Curiously I haue kept
 you all the while that delytes ouerpressed my youth: yet I
 coude neuer se in any woman no certayntie, nor reason in 10660
 loue, but hate at the last. Thy presēt lyghtnes quarelleth
 with my youth past: and it is bycause thou seest not in me
 the auncient wyll toward the, nor the present seruice. And
 certaynly herynge thyn accusation, and not my iustifica-
 tion, as iustly thou paieſt me with deth, as I pay the with 10665
 forgetfulnes: The whiche forgettynge is as straunge to
 be in hym that serueth, as vngentylnes in the lady that is
 serued. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of
 Uenus, where as it commandeth, that the curious louers
 shuld exercise their strengthes in armes, and occupie their 10670
 hartes in loue? and also that their apparell be very clene-
 ly, their fete well compaffed, their bodies stedfast and not
 wauerynge, their voyces lowe and soft, and sadde in cō-
 tenance: their eies open gasyng at wyndowes, and theyr
 hartes redy to fle in the ayre. Of trouth my loue Boemia, 10675
 he is but a grosse louer, that holdeth his wylle in capti-
 uitie, and his vnderstandyng free. The vnderstondyng
 oughte to be lost, where as wyll is in prifon. I saye this
 to thentent that though myne age haue leste the exercyse,
 yet

Rr. ii.

(*f. 154b) 10680 *yet my spirite hath not forgotten the art. Thou complainest bicause I gyue my selfe to rest, 7 that I haue greatly forgotten the. I wyll not deny the trouthe: the day of forgettyng maketh the muster of my thoughtes, and refon whiche is prouifour declareth, that it is not to my grauite
 10685 to permyt, that I shuld loue, nor thy age to suffre to be beloued. As nowe thou knowest, that dyuers thinges, that youth diffimuleth in yonge persons, in age meryteth greuous correction. The dedes done in youthe procedeth of ignorance: but the vilanies done in age procedeth of mallice. Whan I kepte the Cautons, I ietted in the stretes, I fange balades, I gased to the wyndowes, I played on instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyght persons: thinkest thou, that I wyft what I dyd in my youth? and now that I se my selfe promoted fro these pleasures,
 10695 and decked with so many whyte heares, and apparayled with so many dolours, I thynke nowe, I was not than, or elles I dreame as nowe, not knowynge the ways that I haue gone, not seinge the wayes full of stones, I haue fallen ere I was ware, I haue fallen in snares: seeking no
 10700 guyde, I was entred in to the whirlepoole: and by the grossenes of my boldnes, I was lost, and therefore I haue deserued pardon. And nowe that I am out of the thornes and busshes, thou woldest haue me farther in than euer I was: And now that I can not take the purgations, thou
 10705 offrest me newe syropes: I haue watched all nyghte, and touched newly the alarme. For the ancient amitie I pray the, and coniure the in the name of the goddis, sithe that my harte is rebell against thy wyll, which is right doubtful: causeth me to leaue to desire the thus without doubt.
 10710 And so thētent that thou shuldest not thynk any vnkyndnes in my whyte heares, as I may argue thy face of ydelnes, I wyll that we reckon what we haue wonne, or hope
 to

(*f. 155) *to wyne. Shewe me what cometh of these plesures: the tyme yll spent, good name in scaterynge to pardicion, the patrimonie waisted, the credēce lost, the goddis annoyed, 10715 the vertues sclaundred, gette the name of brute beastes, and surnames of shame: suche ye and we and other be. Thou wrytest in thy letter, howe thou wylte leaue Rome, and come 7 se me in the warres of Dacy. Seing thy folly I laugh, and knowledgyng thy boldnesse, I beleue the. 10720 And whan I thynke thus, I take the letter agayne out of my bosom, 7 beholde the seale, doutyng if it be thy letter or not. Thou alterest my pulses and felynges of my hart, 7 the colour of my face chaūgeth, imageninge, that either shame surmounteth in the, or els grauitie fayleth in me. 10725 For suche lyghtnes shuld not be beleued, but of lyke light perfonen. Thou knowest well, he that doth yll, meryteth peyn soner thā he that doth the infamy. I wold wite: whither thou wylt go? thou hast ben cutte for vertinace, and now thou woldest be solde for wyne. Thou began fyrste 10730 as cherries, and thou wylt be laste as quynces: we haue eten the in bloffomes, and thou wylt be lyke the fruite: the nuttes ar very good, but the shales be to hard, with straw and donge thou arte made rype, and thou art rotten, and if thou be rottē, thou art to be lothed. Thou art not cōtent 10735 with .xl. yeres, that thou hast, of the whiche .xxv. yeres are passed in tast as wyne, that is to be solde: and as straw berries hyd vnder the leaues that are corrupte and rotten. Art not thou Boemia, that lacketh two tethe, the eyes hollowed, with white heares, 7 a riueld face, one hande losse 10740 with the gout, 7 a rybbe marred with chyld beryng? whither wylt thou go? put thy self thā in a barrell, 7 cast the 7 it into the riuier, 7 thou shalt come out al weate. We haue eaten the freshe fysh, 7 now thou woldest bring hyther y rusty old salt fishe in stede therof. O Boemia Boemia, now 10745

I

Rr. iii.

(*f. 155^b) *I know there is no trust in youth, nor hope in age. Thou complaynest, that thou haste nothyng. That is an olde quarell of the amorous ladies of Rome, whiche takynge all, say they haue nothyng: and that ye lacke of credēce,
 10750 ye do fulfyl with money. Therefore beleue me louing frēd, that the folyfhe estate, that procedeth of vnlafulfull wynnyng, gyueth small suretie and lesse good name to the per[-]fone. I can not tell howe thou haste spende so moche. For if I drewe of my rynges with one hande, thou dydest open my purse with the other hand. I had greater warres
 10755 with my coffres than, than I haue nowe with myn enemies. I coude neuer haue iewel, but thou woldest demād it: nor I dyd neuer deny the. Nowe at this houre I meruayle, for in this myn age I fynde great hynderaunce by
 10760 my youthe. Thou complaynest of trauaile and pouertie. I am he that hath great nede of that medicine for this opilation, and a playster for that soore, and to haue some colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduised, that I banyshed my necessitie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and
 10765 dyd set vp thy wyll for the request of my seruice. In wynter I went all bare, and in sommer charged with clothes, I went on fote in the myre, and rode in the faire way. whā I was heuy, I laughed, and whan I was mery I wept. For drede I drewe forthe my strengthes, and out of my
 10770 strengthes cowardyse. The nyghtes to fygh, 7 on the day to wayte where thou wentest by. Whan thou haddist nede of any thyng, I was fayne to robbe my father for it. Tel me Boemia, with whom fulfilledst thou thyn open folies, but with the yll orders that I putte my selfe to in secrete?
 10775 wote ye what me semith by you amorous ladies of Rome? ye are in the courte as the lyttell moughtes eatynge olde clothes, 7 a pastime for light folkes, treforers of foles, 7 se[-]pulchres of vices. This y semeth me is, y if in thy youth
 euery

(*f. 156) *euery mā gaue to the, bicaufe thou fhuldeft giue the to eue[-] ry mā: now thou giueft thy ſelf to euery mā, bycaufe euery ¹⁰⁷⁸⁰ mā fhuld giue them to the. Thou telleft me, that thou haſt ii. ſons, 7 lackeſt helpe for them. Yeld graciſ to the goddiſ of the pitie that they haue vſed with the: they haue giuen to .xv. children of Fabricio my neyghbour but one father, 7 to two of thy children onely, they haue giuen .i. fathers. ¹⁰⁷⁸⁵ Therefore deuyde them amonge theyr fathers, and euerye mā ſhal not haue one fynger. Lucia thy doughter indede, 7 myn by ſuſpect, remembre ſ I haue done for her more in marienge of her, thā thou didſt in her procreation. For to the gettyng of her thou dydſt call dyuers, 7 to mary her I ¹⁰⁷⁹⁰ dyd it alone. I wryte to the but lyttel, to the reſpect of that I wold write. Butrio Cornelio hath ſpoken moch on thy parte, he hym ſelfe ſhall ſhewe the as moche of my parte. It is longe ago ſith I knewe thyn impacience. I knowe wel thou wilt ſende me an other letter more maliciouſ. I ¹⁰⁷⁹⁵ pray the ſith I write to the ſecretly, defame me nat opely. And whā thou redeſt this letter, remembre what occaſiōs thou giueſt me to write, 7 though ſ we be not frendis, yet wil I not leue to ſend the ſiluer. I ſend the a gowne: 7 the goddiſ be with ſ, 7 bryng me out of this warre with pece. ¹⁰⁸⁰⁰ Marke pretour in Dacye to his auncient louer Boemia.

¶ The anſwere to the emperours letter ſent by Boemia. The .xvi. letter.



Boemia thyn ancient louer, to the Marc of moũt Celio her mortal enemy, I deſire vēgeance of thy perſon, 7 il fortune for al thy life, I haue receiued thy letter, 7 therby p- ¹⁰⁸⁰⁵ ceiue thy dānable entrailes 7 thy cruel ma[-]lices. Suche yll perſons as thou art hath this priuilege, ſ ſith one doth ſuffre your vilanies ī ſecret, ye wyll

(*f. 156^b) *ye wyll hurte them openly, but thou shalte not do so with
 10810 me Marc: for though I be not trefouresse of thy trefours,
 yet at leaste I am trefouresse of thyn ynesse: and where
 as I can not reuenge me with my perfon, I shall labour
 to do it with my tongue. And thynke that though we wo-
 men be weake, and our bodies lone ouercome, yet wyte it
 10815 for certayne, that our hartes ar neuer vanquysht. Thou
 sayest, that scapyng fro a battayle thou dydest receyue
 my letter, wherof thou were loore abashed: It is a verye
 common thyng to them that be weke and flacke, to speke
 of loue, wanton fooles to treate of bookes, and to cowar-
 10820 des to babble of armes: I say it, bycause the answeringe
 to a letter was not of necessitie to reherse to a woman as
 I am, whither [sic] it were before the battayle or after. I know
 well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that
 fought, nor the last that fledde. Whan thou were yong, I
 10825 neuer sawe the go to the warre, that euer I dredde or had
 suspecte of thy lyfe: for knowynge thy cowardyse, I ne-
 uer toke care for thyn absence, for therin I was most sure
 of thy persone. Than Marc tell me now, what thou doest
 in thyn age. I thynke thou bearest thy spere not for to iust
 10830 in the warre, but for to leane on whan the goute greueth
 the. Thy helmette I deme thou bearest with the to drinke
 with in tauernes, and not to defende the fro the strokes of
 swerdes, for I sawe the neuer stryke man with thy swerd,
 but I haue knowen the sle a .M. women with thy tonge.
 10835 O malicious and vnhappy Marc, if thou were as valy-
 aunt as thou arte malicious, thou shuldest be as greatly
 dred of the barbarike nations, as thou arte in hatred, as
 reason is, with the matrones of Rome. Tell me what the
 lyfte, at the least thou canst not denye, but that thou hast
 10840 ben a weake and flacke louer, so thou arte now a weake
 and flacke cowarde knyght, an vnknowen frende, auari-
 cious

(*f. 157) *cious, infamed, malycious, cruel, ennemy to euery man,
 and frende to no bodye. And we that haue knowen the
 yong strong and lusty, cōdemne the for an olde fole. Thou
 sayest, that takyng my lettre in to thy handes, thy herte 10845
 toke the poyson of malyce. I beleue it well without swe-
 ryng, for any thyng beyng malicious forthwith fyndeth
 lodgyng ī thy hous. Beastes that be corrupt, lyghtly take
 the poyson, that they that ben of good complexyon caste a-
 way. Of one thyng I am in certayne, thou shalt not dye of 10850
 poyson. For one venyme oftentimes dystroyeth an other
 venym. O Malyceous Marc, yf all they in Rome knewe
 the, as well as sorowfull Boemya dooth, they shuld soone
 se what difference were betwene the wordes that thou spe-
 keft, and the intencion of thy hert. And if by the wrytinges 10855
 that thou makest, thou meritest to haue the name of a phi-
 losopher, by the ylnes that thou doest inuente, thou doste
 merite to haue the name of a tyraunt. Thou sayest, thou
 sawest neuer certytude in the loue of a woman, nor ende
 of her hate. I haue great glorie, that other ladies besyde 10860
 me haue knowlege of thy small wyfedome. A fe [Afe?] Marc, I
 wyll not mocke the, thou arte sliche one, as neuer defer-
 ued that one shulde begynne to loue the, nor leaue to hate
 the. Wylt thou haue certitude in loue, and thou vnfayth-
 full of thy seruice? Wylt thou serue with mockeries, and 10865
 woldest be loued truely? Wylte thou enioye the persone
 without spendyng of any of thy goodes? Wylt thou haue
 no complayntes of the, and thou not ceassynge thy maly-
 ces? Thou sayest thou knowest the ylnes of women. I wyl
 thou know, we be not so folysh as thou thinkest, nor thou 10870
 so wyse as thou wenest, to prayse thy selfe: yet hytherto
 hath ben sene mo men to folowe the appetyte of women,
 than there hath ben women folowynge the wyll of men.
 In none of bothe is great trust, and yet we bothe practise
 that

(*f. 157^b) 10875 *that one man hath his harte so myghty to be more wyfer
 than thre wyfe women, and one woman thynketh her so
 fstronge to put vnder her fete and ouercome .iii. C. fuche
 as be lyght. Thou sayest, thou arte abashed of my lyght-
 nes, to leaue Rome, to go to the in the warres. Great is
 10880 the loue of the couñtrei, sith that many leaue dyuers wel-
 thes that they haue in strange landes, and lyue straytely,
 for to lyue in their owne lande: but greater is my loue,
 syth that I wolde leaue Rome with al the pleasures to go
 and serche for the in straunge landes amonge the cruelle
 10885 battayles. O malicious Marke, O straunge louer: if I
 leaue Rome, it were to go and seke my hert beinge in the
 battayles with the. And certaynly dyuers tymes whanne
 I doo thinke on thyne absence, I swowne and sorowe as
 my hart were not with me, and yet I fynde no perfyte re-
 10890 medy. I thinke not our loue is lyke these bestes that ioy-
 eth of their pleasures, without to wylle, and desyre their
 wylles. I sweare to the by the goddesse Uesta, and by the
 mother Berecynthia, that thou owest me more for one day
 of loue, that I haue had to the, than for the seruices that
 10895 I haue done to the in .xxii. yeres. Behold vnhappy Marc,
 howe moche in thy prefence I haue alwayes regarded the,
 and in thyn absence I haue alwayes thought on the, and
 slepyng I haue alwayes dreamed of the, I haue wepte
 for thy trauayle, and laughed at thy pleasure, and finally
 10900 all my welth I haue wyshed the, and al thyn ylls I haue
 wyshed me. I ensure the one thyng, that as nowe I fele
 not so moche thy persecution, that thou doest to me, as I
 do the mysknowlege that thou makest to me. It is a gret
 sorowe for an auaritious man to se his goodes losse: but
 10905 without comparison it is ferre greater for the louer to se
 his loue yl bestowed: It is a hurt that is alwaye fore, 7 a
 peyn alway painful, a sorow alway sorowful, 7 it is a deth
 that

(*f. 158) *that neuer endeth. O ye men, if ye knew with what loue women loueth you in perfytenes whan they loue, 7 with what hert they hate whan they are set to hate: I swere to 10910 you, ye wold neuer cōpany with thē in loue: or if ye do loue them, neuer to leue thē for feare of theyr hate, 7 how there is neuer gret hate, but where as moch loue was fyrst. But thou shalt neuer be gretly hatid, for thou were neuer truly loued of ladies. The sorowful Boemia hath loued ȳ .xxii. 10915 yere of her lyfe, 7 now she only hateth ȳ tyl after her deth. Thou sayest, I may be eaten for veriuycce, and yet I wold be solde for wyne. I knowe wel I haue erred, as one that hath ben yonge and lyght, and whan I perceyued that I had lost my way, and that my myfaduventure can fynde no 10920 way nor remedy: It is the greattest losse of al losses, whā there is no remydy. I haue erred lyke a feble and a weake woman, but thou hast erred as a stronge man: I haue erred by symple ygnorance, but thou hast erred of a prepen[-] fed and wylfull malyce: I haue erred, not knowyng that 10925 I shuld haue erred, but thou knewest what thou dydest: I haue trusted as faythfull to thy wordes, lyke a gentyll man, and thou hast begyled me with a thoufande lesyn- ges as a lyer. Telle me, dydest thou not seke occasion to 10930 comme into my mothers house Getulia, to allure me her doughter Boemya to thy mynde? Dydest not thou promyse my father to teache me to rede in one yere? and thou taughtest me to rede the boke of Ouidius, of the arte of loue? Dydest thou not sweare to be my husbande, and than withdrewest thy hande as a false aduoultrer? Doest 10935 thou not knowe, that thou neuer foundest vilanye in my personne, nor I neuer founde trouthe in thy mouthe? At leest thou canst not deny, but thou hast offended the goddis, and arte infamed of men, 7 odious to the Romayns, 10940 sclaundred of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes, and

(*f. 158^b) *and finally a traytour to my father and mother, a breker
 of thy faythe, and to me sorowfulle Boemia an vnkynde
 louer. O malicious Marc, haste thou not cutte me in le-
 ues, offrynge to my father to kepe his vynes surely? Ill
 10945 may the chekyn truste the kyte, or the lambes the wolues:
 7 worfe the to bring vp the doughters of thē that be good.
 O curfed Marke, o [sic] domageable keper of vines hath the
 matrones of Rome founde the, in kepynge their dought-
 10950 ters: I fwere, that there was neyther grape nor clufter,
 grene, I promyse the it hath sette thy tethe on an yl edge.
 Thou sayest, I ryped by power of heate and strawe. It
 displeaseth me not so moche, that thou sayest, as thou gy-
 uest me occasion to say to the. Thy shame is so shamefull,
 10955 and thy malyce so vnshamefaste, that I can not answere
 the to the pourpose, without hurtynge or touchyng the
 quyeke. I wolde wyte of the, whan thou maryedst Fau-
 styn, whether thou fondest her grene or rype? Thou kno-
 west well, and lykewise so do I, that other beside the, gau-]
 10960 ged the vessel, and thou drankest the lees: other gathered
 the grapes, and thou gleynd the vyne: other dyd eate the
 grapes, and thou haddest the hulkes. O wycked Marc,
 beholde thyn euylls, and howe the goddis haue gyuen
 the iuste chaftyement, that thou being yonge merited not
 10965 to be desyred of thy louers, nor that thy wyues kepe feith
 to the in thyne age. For to be aduenged of thy persone, I
 nede none other thyng, but to se the married to Faustine.
 By the mother Berecynthia I promyse the, ꝑ if thy small
 wysedome myght atteyne to knowe entierly, what is sayd
 10970 of her and the in Rome, surely thou woldest wepe nyghte
 and day for the lyfe of Faustyn, and not leue the thought-
 full Boemia. O Marc, lyttell thought is taken for the, 7
 howe fer is our vnderstōdyng vncoupled fro thy thought-
 tes:

(*f. 159) *tes: bycause that with thy great doctrine by day tyme thy
 houle is made a schole of philosophers, and the wanton- 10975
 nesse of thy wyfe Fauptyne by nyght, maketh it a bordell
 of ruffiens. It is a iuste iugement of the goddis, that lith
 thyn onely malyce suffileth to poyson many that be good,
 that one alone may suffise to vnbend and lose thy renome.
 One difference there is betwene the and me, and thy wyfe 10980
 Fauptyne: for my dedes are but in suspect, and yours are
 openly knowen in dede: myn are secrete, and yours are e-
 uident: I haue stōbled, but ye haue fallen: Of one thing
 alone I haue merited to be chaftised, but ye haue deserued
 no forgyuenes: My dishonour is deed with the faut, and 10985
 is buried with myn amendmēt, but your infamie is borne
 with your desyres, and is brought vp with your wylls,
 and lyueth styll with your werkes: and finally therfore your
 infamie shall neuer dye, for you lyued neuer well. O ma-
 licious Marcus, with all that thou knowest, wotest thou 10990
 not, that for losynge of a good name, an yll fame is reco-
 uered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, begynneth a good
 faame [sic]? Thou ceassest not to saye ylle onely by suspicion,
 the whiche thy false iugementes shewe the, and yet thou
 woldest we shulde not speake that we se with our eyes. Of 10995
 one thyng be thou sure, that neyther of the, nor of thy
 wyfe Fauptyne there is no false wytnesse: for the trouth is
 so euidēt, that there nedeth not to inuent any lies. Thou
 sayst, that it is an old quarel of amorous ladies of Rome,
 that in takinge fro many we are the poorest of all other, 11000
 bycause we fayle in credence, we are honoured for syluer.
 It is of certayntie, that we mystrust the hollie bycause of
 his prickes, the acornes, for his huskes, the roses amōge
 nettyls, and thy mouth for thy malyce. I haue curiously
 taken hede that thou neuer saydest well by women, nor I 11005
 neuer coude fynde, that any wolde the good. What gret-
 ter

(*f. 159b) *ter correction fhuld I haue of thy wyckednes, or more ven[-]
 geance for myn iniuries, but to be certayn, that all the lo-
 uyng ladies of Rome are fory of thy lyfe, and wolde be
 11010 glad of thy dethe. The lyfe of that man is wycked, that
 many bewayle, and in whose dethe euery body reioyseth.
 It is the propertie of poore vnkynde perfons as thou art,
 to forgette the great goodnesse done to them, and to be fo-
 ry for the lyttell that they gyue. As moche as noble hartis
 11015 glorifye them in gyuyng to other, so moche are they afha[-]
 med to receyue seruices vnrewarded. For in giuinge they
 make them felfe lordes, and in receyuyng they are as fcla-
 ues. I wolde wyte what thou hafte gyuen me, or what
 thou hafte receyued of me? I haue aduentured my good
 11020 name, and giuen the poffeffion of my perfonne: I haue
 made the lorde and mayfter of al my goodes: I haue ba-
 nyfhed my felfe out of my countrey, and putte my felfe in
 peryll only for thy sake, and in recompence of al this, thou
 reprocheft me now of miferie. Thou neuer gaueft me any
 11025 thing with thy good wyl, nor I neuer receyued it willing-
 ly, nor it dyd me neuer profyt. Al thinges recouer a name,
 not for the common werke that we fee, but for the fcrete
 intention with whiche we worke. And thou vnhappy
 man defiredft me, not to enioy my perfone, but rather to
 11030 haue my money. We ought not to cal the a clere loue, but
 a thefe, 7 a wylly fee roue. I had a lytel ryng of the, whi-
 che I am determyned to cafte into the ryuer, and the clo-
 thyng that I had of the I haue brent in the fire. And yf
 that my body were any thyng amēded with the bread that
 11035 I haue eaten of thyn, I wold cutte my flefhe, and let out
 the blode without any feare. O curfed Marke, thy darke
 malyce wolde not fuffre the clerely to vnderftande my let-
 ter: for I entended not to afke moneye, to releue my po-
 uertie and folytaryneffe, but reknowlegynge and than-
 kyng

(*f. 160) *kyng to fatisfie my wyllynge herte. The vayne and co- 11040
 uetous menne as thou arte thy selfe, are pleased with gif-
 tes, but the hartes incarnate in loue are lyttell satisfied
 with fyluer. For loue onely is payed with loue agayne.
 The manne that loueth not as a manne of reafone, but
 as a brute beaste, and the woman that loueth not but for 11045
 the interest of her person: fuche ought not to be trusted in
 their wordes, nor their perfones defyred. For the loue of
 her endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and the loue of hym,
 whan her beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onely of
 the beautie of my face, and my loue only for the money of 11050
 thy pours: it were not ryghte, that we were called wyfe
 louers but rather very nyce perfones. O wycked Marke,
 I neuer loued the for thy goodes, though thou louedst me
 for my beautie: with all my hart I loued the than, 7 with
 all my hart I hate the now. Thou sayst, the goddes haue 11055
 fhewed me great pitie, to gyue me fewe chyl dren, and to
 them many fathers. The greattest malice in women is to
 be vnshamefalte, and the molte vilanie in men is to be yll
 layers. Dyuers thinges ought to be suffred for the fragili-
 te of women, whiche are not permytted in the wysedom of 11060
 men. I say this bycause I neuer sawe temperaunce in the
 for to couer thyn owne malyces, nor wysedome to excuse
 the debilities of other. Thou sayest, that my sonnes haue
 dyuers fathers. I swere vnto the, that though thou dye,
 the chylderne of Fauptyne shall not be fatherles. And of 11065
 trouthe yf the goddis (as thou sayest) haue be pytiefull to
 my chyl dren, no lesse arte thou to straunge chyl dren. For
 Fauftin kepeth the but to excuse her blame, 7 to be tutour
 of her chyl dren. O curfed Marc, thou mayst wel enioy and
 take no thoughte, for thyne owne chylderne haue no nede 11070
 to be maried. For one thyng we are bounde, that is for
 the example the whiche thou doste gyue of thy pacience:

For

(*f. 160^b) *For lithe thou suffrest Fauptyne in so many infamies, it is no great nede that we suffre any secretes in the. I say no
 11075 more at this tyme, makyng an ende of my letter, desyryng the ende of thy persone.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Matrine a yonge mayden of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seinge her at a wyndowe.

¶ The .xvii. letter.



11080

Arke the emperour, the very desirous, to the Matrine greatly desyred. I wote not if by good aduenture of myn yll aduenture or by yl aduenture of my good aduenture, I dyd see the of late at a wyndowe, where as thou heldest thyn armes as close as myn eien were spred abroad, that curfed be they for euer. For in beholdyng thy face my
 11085 hart forthewith abode with the as prysoner. The begynninge of thy knowledge is the ende of my reason, and felynge of flyght. Of one trauayle cometh infinite trauayles to men, I say it, if I had not ben ydel, I had not gone oute of my houle, and yf that I had not gone out of my
 11090 howse, I hadde not gone oute in to the stretes, and if I had not passid through the strete, I had not sene the at thy wyndowe: and if I hadde not sene the at thy wyndowe, I had not desyred thy persone: and not desiring thy person, I had not put thy name in so great peryll, nor my lyfe in
 11095 trauayle, nor had giuen none occasion in al Rome to speke of vs. Of a trouth lady Matrine in this case I condemne my selfe, syth I wold beholde the. And thou woldest be saluted, sith thou desiredst to be sene. And syth thou were set as a whyte marke, it was no great meruayle that I shot
 with

(*f. 161) *with the arowes of myn eies at the butte of thy beautie, 11100
 with rollynge eies, with browes bent, wel coloured face,
 incarnate tethe, ruddy lyppes, crispe heares, handes set
 with rynges, clothed with a. M. maner of clothynges,
 bearynge purfes full of fwete smelles, and bracelettes ful
 of knackes, with perles and stones at the eares. Tell me 11105
 what becometh of a woman with these thynges, that wyl
 shewe her selfe at a wyndowe? The mooste cause is, that
 I can esteeme or thynke therein, that sythe ye do shew your
 bodies openly to vs at the eie, that your wylle is, that we
 shulde knowe your desires secretly. And if it be so, as I 11110
 afferme, that it is so, it seemeth me madame Matrine, thou
 shuldest desire hym that desireth the, to informe hym that
 sercheth the, to answer hym that calleth the, 7 fele that he
 feleth, intende to hym that intendeth to the: and sythe I
 vnderstande the, vnderstande me, and vnderstande sythe 11115
 thou doest not vnderstande. I am aduysed as I went by
 the strete Falaria to se theues putte to Iustice, myne eyen
 sawe the at a wyndowe, on whome dependeth all my de-
 fyres. Thou doest more Iustyce to me, than I do to the the-
 ues, for I beinge at Iustice, thou hast iusticied the Ju- 11120
 styce, 7 none dare payne the. The gybet is not so cruell to
 them that neuer knew but yl doing, as thou art to me that
 neuer thought, but howe I myghte do the seruice. The
 theues suffre but one dethe, and thou makest me to suffre
 a. M. in a daye: In one houre the theues liues are ended, 11125
 and I dye euery mynute: I drawe towarde deth wrong-
 fully, and they suffre for their fautes: I suffre an innocēt,
 they openly and I in secrete. What shall I saye more to
 the? of trouthe they wepe watry droppes with their eies,
 bycause they dye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my hart, 11130
 bycause I lyue. This is the difference, their tourmentes
 spredeth abroad through al their bodies, and I kepe myn
 togyder

¶*f. 161 b, *to gether in my herte. O cruelle Matrine, I can not telle
 what Iulityce it is, to put men to deth that steale money, 7
 11135 suffre women lyue that robbe mennes hertes: If theyr
 eares be cut of, that pyke mennes purces, why are womē
 than pardoned, that robbe mennes inwarde hertes 7 en-
 trayles? By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddesse
 Uenus I coniure the, eyther answere to my desyre, or els
 11140 restore my herte agayn, whiche thou haste robbed fro me.
 I wolde thou kneweste the clere fayth of my herte, rather
 than this letter writen with my hand. If myne aduenture
 were soo good, as to speake with the, 7 that thy loue were
 not ashamed therof, I wolde hope with the syght 7 spech
 11145 to wyne that whiche I am in suspect to lese by my letter.
 The reason is, bycause thou hereft my ylle and rude rea-
 sons redynge my letter. And if thou sawest me thou shul-
 dest se the cruell teares that I offre to the by my lyfe. I
 wolde my mouth coude publyshe myne enraged euylls,
 11150 as my herte feleth, then I swere to the lady Matrine, that
 my greuous Dolor shulde awake thy small thought. And
 as thy beautie 7 mine affection hath made me thyn owne,
 the knowelege of my passion shuld make the myne. I de-
 syre that thou shuldest regarde the begynnyng, and ther-
 11155 with regarde the ende. Certaynly the same day that thou
 enprysonedst my herte at thy wyndowe, in the doungeon
 of my desyres, I had no lesse weykenesse to be euercome,
 thanne thou haddeste force to constrayne me. And more
 greater is thy power to put thy selfe from me, thanne my
 11160 reason is to put me fro the. I axe noo mercye of the, but
 that we myghte declare oure wylles together. But in
 this case what wylte thou that I shulde say, but that thou
 hast so moche power ouer me, and I so lytel of my liberte,
 that wyll I nyll I my herte can not be but thyne: And hit
 11165 beyng thyne, thou mayste and wylt not declare thy selfe
 to

(*f. 162) *to be myn. And fith it may nat be, but that my life must be condemned in thy seruyce, be thou as sure of my fayth as I am douteful of thy hope: For I shall haue a greater welthe to be losfe for thy sake, thanne to wyne any other thyng. I wyll say no more atte this tyme, but that thou 11170 accompte my perdicion and dethe, and drawe the lyfe of my teares in to open ioye: And by cause that I holde my fayth in thy fayth, and wyll neuer despayre in thy hope, I sende to the .x. lytell rynges of gold, with .x. stones of Alexandry: And I coniure the by the mortall goddes, that 11175 whanne thou doest put theym on thy fyngres, to sette me in thy herte and entrayles. Marcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

¶ An other letter sente by Marc the emperoure
to the sayd gentylwoman Matryne.
The .xviii. letter.



Arke habytaunt atte Rome, to the Matryne his ryghte fwete enemy. I call the 11180 fwete, for it is Iust [sic] that I dye for the. And I call the enemy, bycause thou ma[-]kest not an ende to flee me. I can not tel wherin it is, but lythe the feast of Jano hytherto, I haue wryten thre letters to the: And to the an- 11185 swere of them I wolde that I had seen two letters from the, if it were thy pleasure. If that I serue the, thou woldest that I shuld not serue: if I speke, thou wylt not speke to me: if I loke at the, thou wylt not beholde me: if I cal the, thou wylt not answere: if I visite y, thou wylt not se 11190 me, if I write to the, thou wilt giue me none answere, And worst of al, yf other do shewe the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof. And if I had as moch knowlege, where

T. [sic] ii.

(*f. 162^b) *where to complayne to the, as thou haft power to remedy
 11195 the playntyfe, my wyfedome fhulde no leffe be prayfed a-
 monge wyfe men, than thy beautie is amonge fooles. I
 pray the hartely regarde not the contrarieties of my rea-
 sons, but regarde the faythe of my wepynges, the whiche
 in wytnesse of my peynes I do gyue vnto the. I wote not
 11200 what good may come to the of my harmes: nor what wyn[-]
 nynge of my losse thou fhuldest hope to gette: nor what
 furetie of my perylle thou fhulde attayne vnto: nor what
 pleasure of my displeasure thou mayst haue. I haue had
 aunswere of my messanger, that without redynge of my
 11205 letters, thou haft with thy handes toren them all to pie-
 ces. It ought to suffice the to thynke, that my person were
 hewen in quarters, yet I wolde thou haddest redde these
 small lynes lady Matrine: for by them thou fhuldest haue
 sene, howe my thoughtes were troubled. ye women are so
 11210 extreme that for faut of one man, a womā wyll complayn
 of all other men in generall, so that ye be cruel for one par[-]
 ticular cause. Openly ye pardone all mens lyues, and in
 secrete ye procure euery mans dethe. I esteeme it nothyng
 dame Matrine that thou haste done: but I lament me of
 11215 that thou demaundedst Ualerius thy neyghbour to saye
 to me. One thyng I wolde thou haddest in memorie and
 not forgot, and that is, lithe that my lybertie is so small,
 and thy power so great, bycause I beinge all holly myne
 owne, I am tourned to be thyn, that thou fhuldest thinke,
 11220 that whan thou woldest iniurie me, thou fhuldest do most
 iniurie to thy selfe, fythe that by the I dye, as thou by me
 doste lyue. In this yll purpose perseuer not, for thou dost
 aduenture the lyfe of vs bothe. Thou damnest thy condi-
 tion, and distroyest my helth, and finally thou must come
 11225 to the medicine. Forgiue me dame Matrine, if I say any
 malyce to the, that is, I knowe that ye women desyre one
 thyng,

(*f. 163) *thyng, and kepe vs in drede, that it shoulde not come by her thought. Thou were wont to be wel condicioned, and at least though thou doest not put it in vre [sic], yet thou haste the fame therof: and an ancient fame ought not to be left 11230 for a newe vnkyndnes. Thou knowest wel, what contraryneffe dothe vngentylneffe to the vertues in vertuous houses, and thou canst not be called vertuous, but if thou be gentyll and courteyse. There is no gretter vnkyndnes, than to loue her that loueth not me: That I visite the, and 11235 thou visitest not me, that I speake to the, 7 thou speakest not to me is nothyng, that I knowlege the, 7 thou wylt not know me is nothyng, though I wepe and thou laugh is nothyng, though I demaunde, and thou denyest is nothyng, though thou owe me, and neuer paye, yet it is 11240 nothyng: but where as I loue the and thou not me is a great thyng: that thyng that can not be diffimuled with the eies, nor the hart suffre all the vyces amonge mortall creatures, it is reason that they be forgyuen, bycause they are commytted by nature, saue onely the vnlouynge of 11245 women, and the vnkyndneffe of men, whiche are vyces commytted of malyce. And dyuers seruices by me done to the, and moche more that I haue to do hereafter, thou Matryne mayste all onely pay me with one thyng. I pray the refuse not to gyue me remedy, lythe I haue not offred 11250 me in the peryll. If thou say, that Patroclus thy spouse hath the propretie ouer the, yet at leaste receyue me to the profe, and I shall pretende possession of the. And in this wise in the vayneglorie to be thyn, shal couer the damage not to be myn. Thou makest me to meruayle fore, howe for 11255 so small a mercy and rewarde thou can suffre suche importunitie so longe. For certayne many thinges we grant to an importunate manne, the whiche are not graunted to a temperate man. If thou hopest to ouercome me Matryne,

Tt. iii.

(*f. 163^b) 11260 *tryne, I holde my selfe vanquysshed, if thou wylte lose
 me, I holde me for losse, if thou wyl fle me, I yeld my self
 as deade. For by the gesture that I make afore thy gate,
 and the syghes that I make in myn owne hous, are gret-
 ly myne to refyfte, and the greuous affault of the, be edy-
 11265 fices more to sommon dethe, than to defende the [lyfe]: yf
 thou wylt that I scape this daunger, deny me not the re-
 medy, bycause it shalbe a gretter vyce in the to fle me, thā
 vilany to gyue me remedy. And it were no iuste thyng for
 so small a pryce to lose the fayth of so gret seruyce. I wote
 11270 not what to do, to make the my debtour, and thou to paye
 me. And yet worst of al, I wote not what to do, nor what
 to thinke nor to say, nor to whom to determine me, bicause
 I can not assure any profyte in me, but to be certayne in
 thy seruices. And bicause thou doste truste hym that hath
 11275 done this message, by hym I do send this open letter, and
 my secrete aunswere. I do sende the a iewel of perles, and
 a besant of golde. To the goddis I do cōmende the. And
 I require the for to receyue it with as good a wylle as I
 do present it vnto the. Marc the oratour to the right hono[-]
 11280 rable Matryne.

¶ A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Ly-
 bia a fayre lady Romaine.

¶ The .xix. letter.



11285

Arke full of sorowe and penyfenes to the
 Lybia takynge but lyttell thought or care:
 If thy small thought passed any thyng on
 me, and also yf my troubles and dolours
 were lodged and dydde reste in the, than
 thou shuldest perceyue and se howe smalle
 the quarell were, the whiche I make to the, in respecte of
 the

(*f. 164) *the tourment that I doo suffre, yf the blasinge flames issued out, as the fyred brondes doo brenne me within, the smoke wolde reache to the heuens, and make ymbres of the erthe: yf thou doest well remembre the fyrst tyme that I sawe the in the temple of the virgins vestales, thou beyng there prayed to the goddis for thy selfe, and I on my knees prayed the for my selfe. I knowe well thou offredst hony and oyle to the goddis, and I offred to the soore wepynges and syghes. It is a iuste thyng to gyue more to hym that offreth his inwarde entrayles, than to hym that draweth money out of his purse to offre. I haue determined, and disposed me, to write to the this letter, that thou shuldest se how thou arte serued with the arowes of myne eies, that were shotte at the whyte of thy seruyces. Alas, howe sorowful am I to thynke, least the calme tyme now, dothe threaten me with the tempest to come. I wyl say, that disloue in the, causeth the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde what myfaduenture, I had loste a letter, and I retourned to the temple to seke for it, but I had nere lost my self, in going thyther so often, cōfydering my smal merite. I se well, that myn eies the ladders of my hope, are set on soohye a walle, that no lesse is the doubte of my fal, than the daunger of the clymmynge vp. Thou bowynge downe the leaues of thy high merytes, haste broughte me to the poynt of continuall seruice. Lette me haue the fruite, and giue the leaues to whome thou wylte: But the immortalle goddis, I haue great meruayle, by cause [byc.?] I thought that in the temple of the virgins Uestales, no manne shoulde haue hadde temptations. But as nowe I do fynde by experience, that the woman is more lyberall and sooner ouercome, that is fast and straitly kept and watched than other. All the corporalle domages are fyrste harde of, er they be knowen, and knowen er sene, and sene er they be felte,

(*f. 164b) *felte, and felte er they be tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For
 firste they fele the stroke therof, er they se the way howe it
 cometh. The lyghtnyng is not so sodeyne, but it is seene
 afore the thonder clappe, nor the wal falleth not so sodein-
 11325 ly, but fyrste some stones do breke asonder, nor the colde
 cometh not so faste on, but some smal sheueringes cometh
 before: but all onely loue is not felt tyll it be setled in the
 entrayles. Let euery man knowe it that knowe it not, and
 thou lady Libie if thou wyll knowe: Loue slepeth whan
 11330 we wake, and waketh whan we slepe, and laugheth whan
 we wepe, and wepeth whan we laugh: It assureth in ta-
 kyng, and taketh in assuring: And spekeeth whan we be
 styll, and is styll whan we speke: And finally it is of that
 condicion, that for to gyue vs that we desyre, hit causeth
 11335 vs to lyue in payne. I swere to the, whan my wyl became
 thy seruante, and thy beautie caused that thou were my
 lady, whan I was in the temple and retourned agayne thi-
 ther, not desyryng the, thou beheldeste me, and I as vn-
 happy loked on the. But O what a thoughte came to me
 11340 that my herte beyng hole, thou haste deuyded, beinge in
 helth thou haste hurte, beinge aliue thou haste slayne, be[-]
 yng myn thou haste stollen it, and that worste of al is, not
 helpyng to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assaile me
 to the deth. Many tymes ladye Libya confyderyng that
 11345 al my thoughtes ben hyghe and my fortune lowe, I wold
 haue seperate my selfe fro the, But confyderyng that my
 trauayles are well applyed in thy seruyces, I say though
 I myghte I wille not be seperate fro the. I will not denie
 one thinge, and that is, that cursed loue taketh away the
 11350 taste of al thinges, and yet therby alonely it gyueth vs ap[-]
 petite, the whiche giueth vs moche yll prouffite. This is
 the profe of him that loueth hertily. For one diffauour of
 them that is beloued, is more than all the fauoure of this
 lyte

(*f. 165) *lyfe. I thinke lady Libia thou art gretly abashed to se me
 outwarde as a philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a 11355
 secrete louer. I praye the Lybia discover me not: For yf
 that the goddis gyue me longe lyfe, I am mynded for to
 amende. And thoughe I be atte this houre but a yonge
 foole in the arte of loue, whan I am olde I shall be wise:
 the goddis knowe what I desire, and the force that I do 11360
 enforce me to: but as the fleshe is weake and the hart ten-
 dre, and hath many occasions and fewe vertues, and the
 worlde subtyll, and the people malicious, I passe this be-
 gynnynge and spring of floures, with hope that in haruest
 I shall haue some fruite. Dame Lybia doest thou thinke, 11365
 that philosophers though they were neuer so sage, be not
 stryken with the cruelties of loue? and that vnder their
 cours clothes their fleshe is not smoth? Certaynly amonge
 the hard bones soft fleshe is bredde, vnder the sharpe huf-
 kes the chestnutte is nourished. I saye that vnder cours 11370
 apparell, is true and perfyte loue. I deny not but that our
 flacke nature reflysteth not with vertues, nor I deny not,
 but there be yonge wāton defyres, not repressed with ver-
 tuous purposes: I deny not, but that the bytte of youthe
 is not refreyned with the brydell of reason: I denye not, 11375
 but that that the fleshe procureth, is dyuers tymes with-
 stande by wyfedom. And also I knowlege well, that he
 that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knowest, that
 thoughe we be wyfe, we leaue not therfore to be men. All
 that euer we lerne in all our lyues, suffiseth not to knowe 11380
 howe to rule the fleshe one houre. To wyfe men in this
 case hathe fallen many errors: there be many maysters
 in vertues, and many moo hath bene, and yet they haue
 ben ouercome with vices, wherfore than doest thou mer-
 uayle of me alone? I confesse of trouthe, that I had ne- 11385
 uer myne vnderftondyng so clere, as whan Cupyde fan-
 ned

(*f. 165^b) *ned wynd on me with his winges. There was neuer none
vnto my tyme, that euer was noted wyfe, but firft he was
a prifoner 7 bound with the loue of Cupyde. Gratian was
11390 amorous on Tamyre: Solon Salaming gyuer of the la-
wes, was amorous of Greycane: Pytacus Mitelenus
lefte his owne wyfe, and was enamoured of a bondwomā,
that he broughte fro the warres. Cleobolus the curyan,
whan he was ful .xxiii. [sic] yere olde, and had red philofophy
11395 xlv. yere, fcalynge the houle of his neyghbour, fel of the
ladder, and dyed: Periander prince of Acaye, and a great
philofopher of Grece, at ſ prayer of one of his louers flew
his wyfe: Anacharces a philofopher a Scitean of his fa-
ther fyde, and a greke of his mother fyde, was fo enamo-
11400 red of a woman of Thebes, that he taught her al his cou-
nyng, and whan he was fycke in his bedde, ſhe redde in
the ſchole for hym: Epimenides of Crete, that ſlepte .xv.
yeres without waking, and though he was .x. yere a gret
worlhypper of the goddis, yet he was banyſhed from A-
11405 thenes for the loue of women: Archyta Tarentyn, may-
fter of Plato, and diſciple of Pythagoras, occupied his
mynde more to inuent the kyndes of loue, than his forces
in doctrines of vertues: Gorgio Cleontino, borne in Sy-
cyll, kepte rather concubines in his chambre, than bokes
11410 in the ſcholes. All theſe were wyfe men, and yet we maye
ſe, howe at the laſte they were ouercome with the fleſſhe.
Than blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of ſo fewe
in noumbre, ſo I coude recyte of other a holle armye. Of
trouthe he ought to haue many thynges, that wyll be ta-
11415 ken as curious in loue. He muſte haue his eien diſplayed
on her that he loueth, his vnderſtandyng fore altered in
that he thinketh, his tonge troubled in that he ſhuld ſay:
So that in ſeinge he be blynded, in thoughtes wandring,
and in ſpeakynge troubled. O lady Libia, the louynge in
mocke-


(*f. 166) *mockerye paffeth by mockerie: but where as the true hert ¹¹⁴²⁰
 is, there is the grefe and no mockerie. Loue fhedeth her
 poyfone, and cruelle Cupydo fixeth his arowes vppe to
 the fethers. Than the eyen wepe, the herte fygheth, the
 flefhe trymbleth, the fynewes fhrynke: the vnderftan-
 dyng waxeth groffe, reafon fayleth, and fo all falleth to ¹¹⁴²⁵
 the erthe, foo that finally the heuye loue abidyng in him
 felfe, holdeth lyttell or nothyng of hym felfe. All this I
 fay bycaufe that knowlege to loue fayleth in me: yet be ye
 fure, that the workes fayle me not to worke in thy feruice.
 And fithe hit was my aduenture to fe the, nowe it is my ¹¹⁴³⁰
 chaunce to knowe the, I demaunde nothyng els of the,
 but that thou wylte loue me trewely, fyth I loue the with-
 out feynnge. And yf thou hafte herde, that I am fycke
 at my harte, I defyre the to do me fome good: for fythe it
 is all onely in the, it is reafon that thou all onely feke for ¹¹⁴³⁵
 remedy. I was greatly comforted, whan Fabius Carly-
 nus defyred me in thy behalfe to be a prifoner, and I dyd
 incontinent all that thou dyddeft defyre, to thentent that
 thou on fome day fhuldeft do that I defyre. And beholde
 lady Lybia, the woman that is ferued with feruyces, it is ¹¹⁴⁴⁰
 reafon, that fhe receyue fome prayers. And thoughe my
 ftrenghthes haue no power to open the gates of thy pour-
 pofe, as nat to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours
 be bycaufe of thy renowme. I praye the difcouer not the
 one, nor begyle me nat with the other. For now thou feeft ¹¹⁴⁴⁵
 that in grauntinge is remedy, and in trufte is comforte,
 but promeffe is deceyuable, the delayenge is peryllous,
 and the entreatynge byndeth. I fe verye welle, that the
 hafte demaunde deferueth a longe aunfwere: but I wold
 not that thou fhuldeft do foo: but as I defyre the, fo de- ¹¹⁴⁵⁰
 fyre me. I faye agayne, I am all thyne, and not myne
 owne. And as for my felfe in all thinges I wyll ferue the.

And

(*f. 166^b) *And lady Libia regarde, that it were as moch honour for the, as profytable for me, to tourne thy difordinate defy-
 11455 res and purpofes. For thou feelt well it is moche better to heale fhortely than to late with faylynge of thy purpofe. All women kepe one daungerous opinion, that is, they wyll neuer receyue counsell that is gyuen them in a great caufe: and if it be fo, as I thynke, fithe thou art prayfed
 11460 and eftemed of great beautie, than be eftemed to receyue good counsel. And in this maner in cafe that my damage be very great, and thy pacience very lyttell, I fhallbe called wyfe to gyue the fuche coudcell[sic], and thou ryght gracious to folowe it. One thyng I faye: and pardone me,
 11465 though I fhewe it to the, howe that women be greatly infamed, that wyll take no counfayle, and fuche as wyll afure their renowme by the opinyon of other, as moche as though they were determined fo to do their felfe. Wherefore I wolde ye fhuld do one thing for an other, as I cou-
 11470 fayle you. And yf thou fyndest any yll therby, withdrawe thy hande. I wyll fay no more to the, but that I do pre-
 11475 fent to the al my vnhappy troubles, my desperate fyghes, and my feruyces as thy feruaunt. My troubled dolours, my wordes of philofophy, and my amorous teares. Also I fende the a gyrdille of golde, and I gyue it the on the
 condicyon, that thou fette thyn eies thereon, and apply thy harte to me. I praye the goddis to giue me to the, and the to me. Marcus Aurelius the philofopher writeth this in very great fecrete.

11480 ¶ THVS ENDETH THIS GOLDEN Boke of the eloquent Marc Aurelie emperour: who fo euer be reader therof may take it by reafon for a ryche and a newe labour, and fpecially princis and gouernours of the common welth, and mynifters of iuftice, with other. Also the
 11485 common people eche of them maye finde the labour conuenient

(*f. 167) *uenient to theyr estate. And therin is conteyned certayne
 right high and profounde sentences, and holsum counsel-
 les, and meruaylous deuyses ageynste thencumbrance of
 fortune: and right swete consolations for them that are o-
 uerthrowen by fortune. Finally it is good to them that di[-] 11490
 geste it, and thanke god that hath gyuen sliche grace to a
 paynym, in gyuyng vs example of vertuous lyuyng,
 with hye and salutarie doctrines and meruaylous instru-
 ctions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayse as ought
 to be gyuen to the auctour, is to be gyuen to the transla- 11495
 tours, that haue laborously reduced this treatyse oute of
 Greke into latyn, and out of latyn into Castilyan, and out
 of Castilyan into frenche, and out of frenche in englyshe,
 writen in high and swete styles. O right happy trauayle,
 sythe that sliche fruyte is issued therof. And also bleffyd 11500
 be the handes that haue wrytten hit. A ryghte precious
 meate is the sentences of this boke: But finally the sauce
 of the sayd swete style moueth the appetite. Many bokes
 there be of substanciall meates, but they be so rude and
 so vnfaury, and the style of so small grace, that the 11505
 fyrste morselle is lothesome and noyfull: And of
 such bokes foloweth to lye hole and founde
 in Lybraries, but I truste this wyll
 not. Of trouthe great prayse is
 due to the auctour for his 11510
 trauayle. And syth
 there can be no
 grace equi-
 polent
 in erthe, lette vs praye to god to 11515
 gyue hym grace and reward
 in heuen. Amen.
 Graces to god.
 FINIS.

(*f. 167^b) 11520 *  Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie emperour, otherwyse called the golden boke, translated out of Frenche into englyffhe by John Bouchier knyghte lorde Barners, deputie generall of the kynges towne of Caleys and marches of the fame,
 11525 at the instant desyre of his neuewe fyr Francis Bryan knyght, ended at Caleys the tenth day of Marche, in the yere of the reygne
 11530 of oure Soueraygne lorde kynge Henrye the .viii. the .xxiii.

LONDINI IN ÆDIBUS THOMÆ BERTHELETI REGII IMPRESSORIS.
 CVM PRIVILEGIO A REGE INDVLTO.

[Auf S. 168 (nicht numeriert) das Bild der Lucrezia, die sich selbst ersticht, mit zwei Spruchbändern; oben: LVCRECIA ROMANA, unten THOMAS BERTHELETVS. Das gleiche Bild befindet sich auf der Rückseite des letzten Blattes des Inhaltsverzeichnisses (The Table).]



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Author Guevara, Antonio de

Title Guevara in England [ed.] von José María Gálvez.

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